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Institute

DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY  
AND  
CIVILIZATION

# **Dynamics and Structure of Strikes: on the Way to the First Russian Revolution**

Maria Dorofeyuk

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to  
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization  
of the European University Institute

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## **Chapter I. Introduction**

Thanks to its unique development, Russia has long captured scholarly interest. Politicians, economists, historians and sociologists have all tried to determine whether Russia has followed a Western (European), Asian (China, Japan) or a sort of hybrid developmental trajectory. Much attention has been paid to the Russian Revolution of 1905. This period (1905-1907) was one of the country's watershed moments. It transformed the country not only politically, but to a large extent, economically as well.

Thus, it is no surprise that a considerable number of Russian historians as well as a fair number of international researchers have studied the Russian Revolution. Nonetheless, there is a significant knowledge gap in this area. This is primarily due to the fact that the majority of Russian-language work on the First Russian Revolution was written during the Soviet period. In this era, scholars worked under extensive ideological pressure from the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, which sought to portray the labour movement, the First Russian Revolution as well as the Revolution of 1917 as the fruit of the organizational activities and political agitation of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. Scholars were strongly encouraged to focus on the role of the Bolshevik party and propagate its political agenda. The research, then, was bound to ignore or distort some important facts. Secondly, most investigations in this field were fragmental in nature. They centred on certain regions of the Russian Empire, mainly Saint Petersburg, Moscow, the Urals and the Don Basin; and solely on certain branches of industry, such as the metal and textile industries, which were the leading industries in Imperial Russia at that time.

As stated above, the Russian Revolution of 1905 has been examined from different angles by researchers during the last several decades. However, the period that immediately preceded the 1905 Russian Revolution has remained mostly in the

shadows, especially in regard to the economic development and labour history of the Empire. Attention was drawn largely to the political element, which was viewed as a main trigger of the Revolution. Labour questions and economic well-being of workers have been mainly bias in Soviet academic field. The above-mentioned requires some explanation. Indeed, labour questions as well as the economic state and well-being of workers were some of the most popular topics of the Soviet era. Nonetheless, the ideological framework in which the authors perforce presented their findings did not allow for objectivity. The political aspect of the workers' struggle against capitalism and the unsatisfactory financial situation of the labour force in Imperial Russia were mainly considered. Thus, it is possible to state that the bulk of Soviet studies on workers' movement was biased. In point of fact, the quality of life, be it financial or social, of workers during the Imperial era was not as simple and tragic as it was made out to be. The well-being of Imperial Russian-era workers is a complex subject that requires a balanced and considered approach. As demonstrated in recent studies, for instance, the real salary wages of workers grew throughout the quarter century prior to the First World War. Such results can be found, for example, in Borodkin, Valetov, Smirnova and Shilnikova's "Ne rublem edinim" (2010)<sup>1</sup>.

Furthermore, due to a lack of appropriate resources, no macro-level statistical analysis of the labour movements in pre-revolutionary Russia has been done. In order to fill the gap in the literature, the current thesis will examine the labour history of the Russian Empire during the decade prior to the Revolution of 1905. It will utilize the latest available archival materials, which will allow the author to carry out a large-scale statistical analysis of the strikes that took place in pre-revolutionary Russia.

First and foremost, the author of the current research does not subscribe to the obvious fallacy that any revolution can be fully explained through analysis of past events. Only after in-depth research has been conducted can key factors be determined.

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<sup>1</sup> Borodkin, Valetov, Smirnova, Shilnikova, *Ne rublem edinim*, (ROSPEN, Moscow, 2010), p.104.



Nevertheless, every single factor has its own impact on the process. Revolutions are a complex phenomenon. A proper analysis demands that all factors, as well as the relationships between them, must be investigated. Life and work conditions, regional and industrial particularity, levels of literacy, legal restraints and political difficulties; each contributed in its own way to the appearance and course of revolution. Hence, I stress that the current research does not try in any way to provide reasons for the 1905 Russian Revolution, nor to answer the sharp and popular question “what makes revolutions happen?” Instead, the current survey tries to investigate a single, and in the author's view, key factor pertaining to the revolution. That is, this research treats the patterns of the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia, taking into account all the branches of industry in all regions of the Russian Empire.

Critically, Russian industry developed along regionally specific lines. The Russian Empire encompassed an enormous territory, which included four different geographical climates, and each region boasted a particular branch of industry. Thus, the working class developed along specific local patterns, rendering it impossible to generalize about the Empire's labour history. Hence, we cannot avoid a comparative analysis of the strike movements between several industrial regions and branches of industry. This inquiry will contribute to an understanding of the main patterns of the strike movement in particular industries in different regions of the Empire.

The current study seeks to shed new light on the characteristics of strike activity that emerged in all provinces of Imperial Russia, and to reveal new information about the labour movement and its features on the eve of the 1905 Russian Revolution through utilizing econometrics and statistical methods of data proceeding.

An important feature of our approach involves the use of primary, rather than aggregated data. The bulk of the work in the field was based on the analysis of “Svod otchetov fabrichnyh inspektorov”<sup>2</sup>. The materials of the Factory Inspectorate covered

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<sup>2</sup> A collection of factory inspectors' reports.

61 provinces from 80 provinces of Russian Empire. The statistical data were presented in the Collection of the Factory Inspectorate (hereinafter, "Collection") in categories divided by year and industry. Thus, researchers worked with integrated data of factory inspection that covered only 61 out of 80 provinces. Haimson, by way of contrast, in his analysis of strike movements in Russia during WWI, relied on primary data. This allowed for a consideration of the characteristics of each strike. As to the examination and analysis of labour movements prior to the 1905 Russian Revolution, it is difficult to find studies that do a micro-level ("strike-by-strike") statistical analysis.

This study tries to go beyond a simple description of labour conflicts; instead, it probes the changes in the model of the labour movement itself. In other words, we will be seeking systematic fundamentals rather than idiosyncratic details.

### ***1.1. Main objectives of the dissertation.***

The present study is concerned with the lack of statistical analysis of labour conflicts in pre-revolutionary Russia. Particular attention is given to the scale of the strikes that affected all the regions of the Russian Empire and all branches of industry. In addition, new possibilities have emerged with the appearance of the "Chronicle." This is a new source that includes the regions and branches of industry that were not covered previously, and permits a micro-level research approach, using detailed, non-aggregated data.

This research seeks to explore the basic characteristics of labour conflicts in the Russian Empire from the year 1895 to 1905.

The central theme of the research is the structure of these labour conflicts, which varied by year, region and branch of industry. A second main subject is the nature of the interactions between the major factors in the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. This work seeks to determine if there is a correlation between the features of the conflict and the intensity of the strike movement. We concentrate on a statistical analysis of archival material that reveals previously unknown information regarding the basic characteristics of the conflicts. The analysis sheds light on common explanations of labour conflicts in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well offers an alternative perspective to accepted historiography.

The major limitation of this study is that it does not take into account political developments that may have influenced the development of the labour movement. This is so because the political character of the 1905 revolution has received extensive scholarly attention.<sup>3</sup> However, only recently have historians begun to look at the profound changes that took place in Imperial Russian society and the economy before the 1905 Russian Revolution.

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<sup>3</sup> See for example the studies made by Steve Smith.

### *1.1.1. Theories and Background*

Strikes have always piqued the interest of historians. Yet, the economic historical angle is a fairly novel one for this topic. Economic history has opened up new ways to study labour conflicts. It offers at least five different approaches to the study of strikes: business-cycle theory; economic-hardship theory; resource mobilization theory; institutional theory; and political-exchange theory

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Empire underwent an economic recession (for some areas of the economy it is possible to say crisis). Thus, it is possible to test the following economic history theories by looking at the reactions of workers vis-a-vis their striking activity within the crisis years.

Business-cycle explanations of strikes have the longest tradition in the literature. They focus on the relationships among business cycles, the bargaining position of labour, and strikes. According to business-cycle models (e.g., the Ashenfelter and Johnson model), the state of the labour market modifies the bargaining position of workers in relation to employers, and influences their propensity to strike.<sup>4</sup> During a crisis, labour markets are tight and workers are relatively willing to take the risk of mobilization, because they can easily find other jobs. Employers, by contrast, have a hard time finding replacement workers. Additionally, they do not want to have their production interrupted at a time when orders and profits are high. Under conditions approaching full employment, workers are thus in a favorable position compared to employers, and are more willing to strike.

2) Economic-hardship theories hold that workers' grievances are the basis for their collective actions. When the level of grievances becomes intolerable, workers will act. That is more likely to happen during times of economic recession and crisis, when

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<sup>4</sup> For example, see Ashenfelter, Orley, and George J. Johnson. 1969. "Bargaining Theory, Trade Unions and Industrial Strike Activity". *American Economic Review*, Vol. 59, No. 40, pp. 35-49.

their working conditions deteriorate and grievance mount. Both business-cycle and economic-hardship models deal with the relationship between economics and collective action, but, whereas the former models stem from the field of economics, the latter arise from the sociological tradition.<sup>5</sup>

3) Resource-mobilization theory seeks to explain collective action in terms of a group's capacity to mobilize resources and organize.<sup>6</sup> Unlike economic-hardship theory, it views collective action as the product of social organization, rather than disorganization. Further, resource-mobilization theory considers grievances more or less constant; in other words, groups always have their gripes.

4) Those who advocate institutional theory argue that the institutionalization of collective bargaining has imprinted a periodic pattern on strike activity, the period being determined by the durations of collective contracts. This is particularly true when contract expirations cluster together in the same quarter or the same year. Francois Sellier (1960)<sup>7</sup> and Hugh A. Clegg (1976)<sup>8</sup> further argued that the level at which contract negotiations are held is associated with specific dimensions of strike activity.

5) Political-exchange theory has focused on long-term developments in strike patterns, developments related to changes in the political position of labour in the national power structure. Comparative political research has shown that in capitalist

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<sup>5</sup> Tilly, Charles. 1981. *As Sociology Meets History*. New York: Academic Press

<sup>6</sup> Jenkins, Craig. J. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements". *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, pp. 527-53.

<sup>7</sup> For example, see Sellier, Francois. 1960. "Cohesion syndacale et niveau de negotiation". *Sociologie du travail*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 289-99.

<sup>8</sup> Clegg, Hugh A. 1976. *Trade Unionism Under Collective Bargaining*. Oxford: Blackwell.

countries, the incidence of strikes has declined only when labour-oriented social-democratic parties acquired power.<sup>9</sup>

We shall not test the political-exchange theory in our research, as the political element of the labour movements in Russia of that period is difficult to gauge due to the fact that a great part (if not the main part) of propaganda was conducted in secret, and hence is not reflected in the sources. Furthermore, the political side of the historical development of Russia at that period has been widely discussed. As to the institutional theory, the available sources do not allow us to track the existence and duration of workers' contracts. Thus, we are not going to test this hypothesis either.

Consequently, due to the specific features of the historical development of Russia as well as our research interests, we will be centering our research on business-cycle theory, economic hardship theory and resource-mobilization theory. Primarily, we will investigate the economic hardship theory, since there is a major historiographical debate on the existence of an economic depression just prior to the 1905 Revolution, and its influence on labour conflicts at that time.

### *1.1.2. Periodization*

A few words should be said about the concept of periodization. The timeframe of the research is determined by the features of a socioeconomic and political development in Russia at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The year 1895 witnessed a sharp rise in the working-class movement. By the calculations made

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<sup>9</sup> For example, see Korpi, Walter and Michael Shalev. 1980. "Strikes, Power and Politics in the Western Nations, 1900-1976." p. 320.

in “History of working class of the USSR”<sup>10</sup>, the number of strikes in 1895 had increased more than 5 times— almost in 2.5 times – compared to 1894.

Furthermore, most political labour parties and organizations in 1895 moved from moderate propaganda to active agitation and rather vigorous dynamic actions among workers. We terminated our analysis after the Russian Revolution of 1905 because after the Revolution began, the pattern according to which the strike movement was developing changed substantially, and new factors began to influence the outcome of the process. To conclude, the current dissertation work hones in on the decade within which the working class of the Russian Empire was formed, when yesterday's peasants became the labour force of a rapidly industrializing country and found themselves in the middle of history-changing events; that is, revolution.

### *1.1.3. Objectives*

The main objective of the current research is the econometric analysis of the labour materials concerning strikes in the enterprises located in the territory of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We will analyse the interrelations of various characteristics of the labour conflict in order to determine the structure of the labour movement. Our inquiry will probe for the broadest patterns, especially the ones which can be counted, tabulated and shown to occur again and again. We will start with the basic characteristics of labour conflicts at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to establish a broad pattern of development, and then we will move towards the econometric analysis of the labour materials in order reveal the relations between the features of the conflict that shaped its outcome, intensity and structure. Our econometric statistical analysis of the labour conflicts is based on the new source, the “Chronicle”.

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<sup>10</sup> Rabochiy klass Rossii ot zarozhdeniya do nachala XX veka. Izd. 2-oe. M., 1989.

The research will include not only the results of the analysis of the data of the “Chronicle” but the results of the analysis which was carried out on the materials of the "Collection" as well, because such an analysis has never been done before, and the “Collection” constituted for decades the main source for labour historians.



## ***1.2. The structure of the dissertation***

The following survey presents the outcome of a four-year research study. The dissertation focuses on a statistical analysis of historical data; thus, the empirical work is the center point of the current study and a quantitative approach is used for the data analysis. We will begin with an outline of the main issue of the dissertation and a discussion of the historiography, sources, methods and methodology of the research; next will come a general overview of the historical context of the studied period. The results of the empirical work and the analysis of the collected archive materials will follow. The main body of the paper consists of the results of the performed descriptive statistical and econometric statistical analysis. The last chapter of thesis has been divided into two major parts, according to the historical sources that were used for the verification of the hypothesis tested in the research. The work will move towards a general conclusion and bibliography.

Consequently, this paper is divided into five major parts:

1. Introduction;
2. Historiography;
3. Historical context;
4. Comparative analysis of labour conflicts in Left-Bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the Central Industrial Region at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century;
5. Verification of the hypotheses by means of an econometric statistical analysis of labour conflicts based on the materials of the new source the "Chronicle" and the "Collection."

Each chapter has its purpose in the general structure of the thesis. The first part introduces the research, while the second part discusses the main issues in the topic's historiography. The third chapter provides a basic historical context, and a brief overview of Russian economic development. Finally, the fourth and fifth parts reveal

the results of the statistical analysis of the database formed on the basis of the materials of the main source of the dissertation – the “Chronicle”- as well as data from a source that has for decades been the primary one for historians working on this topic: the "Collection."

In the first chapter, the topic of the research, the main sources of the dissertation and the methods and methodology are set out. As it is an introductory chapter, its main purpose is to present the theoretical frame of the research.

The second chapter is devoted to a discussion of the relevant literature in the field. There is a striking dearth of current literature related to the research subject. The historiographical literature review will clarify the aspects of the subject that have been addressed, and those that remain in scholarly shadow. From the analysis of the relevant historical literature, four working hypotheses were derived. It was decided to structure the current dissertation according to type of historical source, as this appears to be appealing and comprehensible to readers. Careful attention was paid to an overview of the sources and the database that were used for the statistical analysis.

Space constraints do not allow for a detailed description of the general subject of the dissertation; however it is the author's belief that there is a need to see the problem against its historical background. Particular heed has been paid to the economic development of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The third chapter of the dissertation will offer this historical context.

As mentioned above, the fourth chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the results of the comparative analysis of the archival materials collected in the source “Chronicle”. These allow us to determine the basic characteristics of labour conflicts in three regions of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and to see its structure. This is an important part of the research analysis, as it sheds light on the variety of forms of workers' strike activity in different regions of the Empire.

The fifth chapter offers statistical analysis of labour conflict based on the materials of the new advanced source of data “Chronicle” and the "Collection." Three types of statistical analysis are used: principal component analysis, cluster analysis and regression.

The structure of the thesis as well as its division has been created for the purpose of accurately representing the complicated phenomenon of labour movement activity in the Russian Empire. We would like to stress here that the main focus was placed on the economic and sociological side of the phenomenon, as the political side has been discussed fully enough in the historiography.

### *1.3. Brief overview of the existing sources*

The description and the analysis of the sources take particular prominence in the paper. To a certain extent, it is the sources that determine the nature and path of any given research. In fact, it is impossible to go beyond the frames given by the source and to address questions that from the very beginning have no answers due to the absence of the data.

There is a large quantity of sources on the history of the labour and strike movements in Russia in the second half 19<sup>th</sup> – first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. First, there are materials of factory inspection, of the trade and industry office-work Ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as the primary materials of factory statistics and industrial censuses stored in archives; second, there are statistical publications of factory statistics, industrial censuses, and various reference editions; third, there is the press; and fourth, there are ego documents such as memoirs and diaries.

The most extensive group of primary sources – archival materials – will be characterized in the following chapter in connection with the creation of the “Chronicle of the working-class movement”.

In the review, we will consider only those sources that raise questions directly germane to the theme of our work. These are statistical and reference works that are conceptually positioned between historical sources and historical research. The volumes have features akin to traditional written sources, as well as those characteristic of historical research. In the first case, certain data can be found in them exclusively, and cannot be taken from other sources. In the second case, we shall need to address methods of research analysis by means of which the data were generalized.

While labour statistics did not enjoy due development in pre-revolutionary Russia, the materials of factory inspection did record a formidable amount of information on the number, structure and position of factory workers. From 1902 to

1915, a regular publication of the "Collection of Reports of Factory Inspectors"<sup>11</sup> (hereinafter, "Collection") was organized. In 1902-1903, the "Collection" that had direct bearing on the period studied in this dissertation was published. These editions contained general data on the number of businesses and workers occupied in them, as well as data concerning worker complaints about managers, accidents, penalties, and worker insurance. The tables pertaining to strikes, their reasons and their scale are of particular interest to us.

The majority of the published data provided in the "Collection" was generalized, and organized into large units: factory district, province and year. This kind of source gives us valuable information on strike activity of workers in the Russian Empire in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The information presented in the "Collection" included: 1. number of FI and number of industrial objects under their supervision; 2. changes in number of the industrial objects under the supervision of FI during accounting time; distribution of industrial objects under supervision of FI by their size; Activity of FI on personal observation of industrial objects; activity of FI on fulfillment of separate requirements and commissions; Activity of FI on carrying out the established formalities; Complaints of the managers about workers and results of their investigation; Reasons for complaints about workers, and number of declared and satisfied complaints; Individual complaints of workers about managers, and results of their investigation; Collective complaints of workers about managers; Results of investigations of collective complaints of workers about managers; Strikes; Manager violations.

1. Indictment of managers for violations
2. Number of industrial objects where fines were collected from workers

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<sup>11</sup> Svod otchëtov fabrichnyx inspektorov za vtoruyu polovinu 1900 g. SPb., 1902; Svod otchëtov fabrichnyx inspektorov za 1901 g. SPb., 1903.

3. Movement of penal capitals in industrial institutions
4. Parity of workers' fines and their salary
5. Distribution of aid from penal capitals
6. Number of Steam coppers under FI supervision
7. Activity of FI on supervision of steam coppers

We were not able to rely on industrial censuses as sources for our research as they did not contain enough information on the history of the strike movement in Russia for this purpose. The closest industrial census to our timeframe was that of 1900. Materials from this census were published in V.E.Varzar's work, "Statistical Data on Factories and Plants on Manufactures Which Have Been Not Imposed With the Excise, for 1900"<sup>12</sup>. Census data were grouped in the volume in tables of four basic types that contained general economic and technical data on the enterprises, in addition to data about consumed raw materials, completed production, aggregated number of workers and so on.

After the 1905 Revolution, a group of well-known statisticians, including V.E.Varzar, began gathering statistical information about the state of the industry in the Russian Empire. Their findings appear in the volume, "Dynamics of the Russian and secular industry in relation to national economic development within forty years"<sup>13</sup>. However, this work was not completed, except the first volume, which was devoted to statistical data on the industry from 1887 to 1926. The literature containing statistical

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<sup>12</sup> Statisticheskie svedeniia o fabrikax i zavodax po proizvodstvam, ne oblozhennym akcizom, za 1900 god. Pod red. V. E. Varzar. SPb., 1903.

<sup>13</sup> Dinamika rossiiskoi i sovetskoi promyshlennosti v sviazi s razvitiem narodnogo khoziaistva za sorok let (1887-1926 gg.). T. I. Svod statisticheskikh dannyx po fabrichno-zavodskoi promyshlennosti s 1887 po 1926 god. CHast'. 1-3. M.; L. 1929-1930.

data about strike activity in Russia at the turn of century was published after the 1905 Revolution as well<sup>14</sup>.

Varzar's significant contribution diversified the data on factory plants of various branches of the Russian industry. His work on strike activity in Russia was published in 1905 in a volume entitled, "Statistical data on strikes of workers at factories and plants within a decade 1895 – 1904"<sup>15</sup>.

These surveys contain only generalized statistical data. Although they cover limited areas and cases of workers' struggle, as they are based on the data of factory statistics, these works remain valuable because of their attempt to collect and generalize statistical data on the working-class movement across the Russian Empire.

A large group of sources in which data on the history of the working-class movement in Russia is found was published in the form of "Indexes", "Lists", and "Enumerations" about separate industrial enterprises. This was the typical way in which primary statistical information was made public. The publications could be the sole manner in which a given statistical investigation was published, or they could supplement a general analysis of the results of a census<sup>16</sup>.

A number of such reference works published at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century overlap chronologically with our work. For instance, the "List of Factories and Plants"

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<sup>14</sup> Voznesenskiĭ S. Stachechnaĭa bor'ba rabochix v 1870 – 1917 gg. (neskol'ko tsifr i faktov) // Arxiv istorii truda v Rossii. Pgr., 1923. Kn. 8; Iozefovich S. I. Zabastovki v Rossii za period 1895 – 1917 gg. (tablitsy) // Naemnyĭ trud v Rossii. Vyp. I. M., 1927; Īakovleva K. N. Zabastovochnoe dvizhenie v Rossii za 1895 – 1917 gg. // Materialy po statistike truda. Vyp. 8. M., 1920.

<sup>15</sup> Statisticheskie svedeniĭa o stachkax rabochix na fabrikax i zavodax za desiatiletie 1895 – 1904 gg. Pod red. V. E. Varzar. SPb., 1905.

<sup>16</sup> Voronkova S. V. Rossiĭskaĭa promyshlennost' nachala KHKH veka: istochniki i metody izucheniĭa. M., 1996. p. 33.

(hereinafter, the "List") was based on the materials of industrial inspections of 1895<sup>17</sup>. This volume consists of an introduction and the list of names of the factories in the Russian Empire, along with their economic indicators. This constituted the last significant reference work of factory statistics of Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1900, the first industrial census, the "List of Factories and Plants of European Russia"<sup>18</sup> was published. Later on, the data of the special inspection conducted by the Department of Industry of the Ministry of Finance were presented in 1902; the information found in the directory is slightly broader in scope than in the 1900 census. It is a nominal list of factories and plants divided into 12 industries. Within the branches of the industry, the material is grouped by separate provinces. The "List" records information such as name of business owner, name of the business and year of its foundation, its site, production, annual production rate, number of workers and so on. A similar sort of directory, based on the results of the 1908 census, was also published<sup>19</sup>, but this volume overruns the chronological framework of our work.

There were no information gaps in the above-noted reference volumes. There were, however, gaps in the separate indicators. Thus, for example, in the "List", for entries 15-148, the date of foundation is provided for only 14.827 enterprises (97.8 %)<sup>20</sup>.

"Address directories" were another, related type of reference source<sup>21</sup>. These volumes contain precise information about the name and location of particular industrial enterprises.

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<sup>17</sup> *Fabrichno-zavodskaiâ promyshlennost' Rossii. Perechen' fabrik i zavodov (1894 – 1895)*. Pod Red. I.P. Langovogo, V.I. Mixailovskogo. SPb., 1897.

<sup>18</sup> *Spisok fabrik i zavodov Evropeiskoi Rossii. (1900 – 1901)*. SPb., 1903.

<sup>19</sup> *Spisok fabrik i zavodov Rossiiskoi Imperii. (1908 g.)*. Pod red. V. E. Varzar. SPb., 1912.

<sup>20</sup> Voronkova S. V. *Rossiiskaia promyshlennost' nachala KHKH veka: istochniki i metody izucheniia*. M., 1996. P. 37.



These reference volumes are the only sources of information about the industrial branches of many factories in pre-revolutionary Russia, as well as about the dates of their foundation, number of workers and location. In this work, we use the directory the “List” for establishing the branch of some factories, number of workers and their location.

The above-listed volumes indicate that the methods of gathering and processing of statistical information in Russian industry, including methods of statistical analysis, were well-developed and widely applied both in pre-revolutionary Russia, and in the first post-revolutionary decade. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the historical science of the Soviet period.

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<sup>21</sup> Adresnaia kniga fabrichno-zavodskoĭ i remeslennoĭ promyshlennosti vseĭ Rossii (1903 g.).

Pod red. A. V. Pogozheva. SPb., 1905; Tozhe. Izd. 2-e, ispr. i dop. M. – SPb., 1907.

## ***1.4. Main sources for the dissertation***

### *1.4.1. The history of the creation and publication of the "Chronicle".*

The basic and most important source for the dissertation is the multi-volume edition, "The working-class movement in Russia. 1895 – February 1917. The chronicle"<sup>22</sup> (hereinafter, "the Chronicle") contains exhaustive data about mass actions of workers in the enterprises of the Russian Empire from 1895 to 1904.

Previous attempts to reconstruct the picture of the development of certain forms of the labour struggle (strikes, demonstrations, unrests, and etcetera) were far from comprehensive. This led to distortions on the topic. These attempts to create chronicles of the working-class movement from the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries considered only some forms of labour struggle in certain regions of the country, were focused on rather narrow chronological periods<sup>23</sup>, and relied on a limited source base. That the "Chronicle" offers essentially complete data on the basic forms of the labour struggle and the organization of workers in 80 provinces of the Russian Empire makes this source truly unique.

In this source, information from almost all central, and, to some extent, regional storehouses of documents (around 108 archives) of the former USSR was recorded. Using modern border terms, these are the archives of the Russian Federation, the new independent states of the former USSR.

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<sup>22</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX: Vyp. I "1895 god"; Vyp. II. "1896 god"; Vyp. III "1897 god"; IV "1898 god"; Vyp. V "1899 god"; Vyp. VI "1900 god"; Vyp. VII "1901 god"; Vyp. VIII "1902 god"; Vyp. IX "1903 god". (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Ėltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005.

<sup>23</sup> Xronika rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii v 1800-1900 gg.; Xronika rabocheho dvizheniia v 1901-1904 gg.// Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v 1901-1904 gg. L., 1975.

The chronological frameworks of the "Chronicles" were based on the features of social, economic and political development in Russia in general, and in the lives of workers in particular, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The year 1895 is characterized by a sharp rise in the mass working-class movement. According to calculations made in the work entitled "History of working class of the USSR", in 1895 the number of strikes increased by more than 5 times in comparison with 1894, and the number of strikers – by almost 2.5 times<sup>24</sup>. Additionally, the tactics of some parties and political organizations changed: in 1895, they moved from an exclusive reliance on propaganda, to propaganda augmented by active action among workers. After the Russian Revolution of 1905, the pattern of strike activity changed, and different mechanisms and techniques were used by strikers, as well as by political organizations. This, however, is a topic for a different study.

The "Chronicle" was first published in 1992, under the title, "The working-class movement in Russia. 1895 – February, 1917. The Chronicle – 1895". In 2005, a ninth volume was released for 1903.

The nine volumes of the "Chronicle" follow a single basic structure. The material is grouped into three sections. The first section of each release informs us about the mass working-class movement in the country, with accounts of both strike and non-strike activity (unrests, complaints, applications), and also meetings, gathering, rallies and May Day demonstrations. The second section is made up of materials reflecting the activity of party unions, committees, groups: their organizational agitation and propaganda activity. The third section is comprised of a collection of summaries of leaflets, grouped in chronological order.

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<sup>24</sup> Rabochiĭ klass Rossii ot zarozhdeniia do nachala 20 veka. Izd. 2-oe. M., 1989. P99939. 417, 487.

#### *1.4.2. Methodological principals of the creation of the "Chronicle."*

From the very inception, the compilers of the "Chronicle" dealt with a variety of important methodical questions.

First and foremost, it was crucial to define the term "working class." The compilers, guided by the opinions of experts in the history of the proletariat of capitalist Russia<sup>25</sup>, recognized that the working class structure included those categories of wage and salary earners who, creating a surplus exchange value, were employed in the production of goods for which the wage was the basic source of livelihood. Thus, the term "working class" was determined to subsume the following: 1. Factory (I-XIV manufacture groups); 2. Metallurgical (workers in metal plants who melted steel and pig-iron); this group is included in the first category of workers. 3. Mining (workers employed in coal mining, iron ore, nonferrous metals, manganese, peat, oil); 4. Workers of the state enterprises; 5. Workers employed in railway and water – sea and river – transport; 6. Municipal service workers; 7. Building workers; 8. Workers in small enterprises numbering up to 16 persons (or even less if a mechanical engine was involved in the work process); 9. Craft workers (fisherman, etcetera.); 10. Agricultural workers; 11. Workers employed in trading institutions (those without employees, salesmen)<sup>26</sup>.

This terminological issue is closely related to a problem of the same character; that is, the definition of various types of industrial enterprises in capitalist Russia.

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<sup>25</sup> Ivanova N. A. Struktura rabocheho klassa. M., 1987. S. 71; Rabochiĭ klass Rossii ot zarozhdeniia do nachala 20 veka. Izd. 2. M., 1989. P. 260-275.

<sup>26</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895 - fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I. M., 1992. S. 9-10; Organizacionnye i metodicheskie principy podgotovki hronik rabocheho i social-demokraticheskogo dvizheniia v Rossii (1895 – fevral' 1917 gg.). Izd. 2-oe. M., 1990. P. 150-153.

The introduction to the work, “Organizational and Methodical Principles of Preparation of Chronicles of Working and Social Democratic Movement in Russia”<sup>27</sup> notes that the condition of sources sometimes complicates comparisons between various types of industrial institutions – factories and artisan enterprises – and in this connection belonging of certain workers to factories or other categories.

The “Chronicle” compilers accepted the division of all institutions into “factory” and “pre-factory” that was established in 1895 by factory inspectors. According to these principles, business with no fewer than 15-16 workers, and also those with no fewer than 16 workers that had a steam engine (or equivalent thereof) were considered to be factories; other institutions were considered to be “pre-factory” enterprises<sup>28</sup>.

Another important methodical problem was the delimitation of what forms of struggle were to be registered in the “Chronicle”. The following list became the basis of the “Chronicle”:

1. Strike (or stoppage) – a presentation of demands with cessation of work; strikes at one enterprise, at several similar enterprises – so-called collective, or group, general (in a city, region);

2. Unrest – a collective presentation of demands without cessation of work;

3. Manifestation, meeting, gathering (as in the street, in wood, and indoors);

4. Street demonstration, including the so-called mixed-type, the latter with participation not only of workers, but also of representatives of the intelligencia and students;

5. Armed conflicts;

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<sup>27</sup> Organizatsionnye i metodicheskie printsipy podgotovki “Xroniki rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii. 1985 – fevral’ 1917g. M., 1986 (2-oe izdanie. M., 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

6. Collective complaints, petitions, applications;

7. Demonstrations, indoor demonstrative performances at theatres, higher educational institutions and scientific organizations.

The "Chronicle" did not include:

1. Collective leaving of workers from the enterprise in infringement of the employment contract;

2. Arson at industrial enterprises;

3. "Patriotic" and chauvinistic performances, demolitions<sup>29</sup>.

In official documents, actions were not infrequently registered in a general sense with the designation "revolt", "unrest", or "disorder/"

As in the present research we pay closest heed (due to specificity of time and territorial frameworks) to such forms of worker struggles as strikes, unrests and collective complaints, it is imperative that we take careful note of the precise definitions of these forms of labour conflict, and also of how they were recorded.

Thus, for gathering data on the majority forms of struggle, the recording of data about a *strike* was taken as a basis, as the strike was one of the initial forms of struggle. This form entails the cessation of work for the sake of economic or political demands, and also for the display of solidarity. For the case of pre-Revolutionary Russia, it is impossible to distinguish definitively between politically-based and economically-based strikes. This is not an issue of the definition itself, but more about the historical context in which strikes occurred in the defined period of time. Before the First Russian Revolution, there were almost no political strikes at all, and the intent of political organizations, unions, leagues and parties was mainly to harness the discontent of workers regarding economic issues toward organized labour conflict. At the end of the

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<sup>29</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX: Vyp. I "1895 god", p.

nineteenth century, in any strike, the first rank- requirements were of an economic or social nature: to raise salaries or wage rates, to improve labour conditions or to change the work schedule.

The strike was taken as the unit for the registration of information at each enterprise or strike of a group of workers of a certain trade that cannot be distributed on institutions during that certain period.

A strike was recorded in the month that it began. The appearance at work of the last striking employees marked the strike date closed. If during a strike there was a partial or general dismissal (lock-out) of workers, a day of renewal of work of the whole enterprise was considered to be the end of the strike. If, after a certain period of time workers began to strike again, this event was considered to be a new strike.

The aggregate number of workers at the enterprise was defined on the basis of reference volumes or on the source data. If the number of striking workers varied, these fluctuations are reflected in notes to the article. Different interpretations in each source are reflected in notes to the article as well. The demands of the striking workers are listed in the sequence in which they were declared in the document.

Spontaneous mass action (as an expression of discontent) of workers, accompanied by an industrial infringement of public order by presentation of demands but without cessation of work was considered an *unrest*. Often in official documents of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, unrests were referred to as "revolts". Unrests and strikes were recorded in the same manner.

For the collection of data on collective *demands, complaints and petitions* of workers, written or oral references of groups of workers to managers or other authorities for the purpose of protection of economic and social interests was recorded. Each presentation by a group of their demands or complaints in the enterprise during a certain time was recored as a singleunit. The same technique as for the recording of other forms of labour struggle was applied. Along with the list of demands and

complaints, there is a mark indicating to whom they were presented – to managers or to other authorities<sup>30</sup>.

The quantitative characterization of the working-class movement in Russia for the specified period of time was one of the main objectives of the “Chronicle” compilers. One of the goals of the present research is a statistical data processing of the “Chronicle” using the latest computer techniques and methods of quantitative analysis for mass historical sources. The forms of struggle that had substantial time, geographical, industrial and organizational indicators became registration units.

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<sup>30</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I. M., 1992. p. 12-13.



#### *1.4.3. Review of archival material on the history of the working-class movement.*

It is well known that the comprehensiveness, reliability and representativeness of information in historical research depend first of all on the character and quality of sources. Thus, one of the most important questions raised in an analysis of the “Chronicle” is "What are the specific features of the historical sources that filled this work with content and defined its structure?"

Toward a better understanding of the character of the data recorded in the “Chronicle” we shall briefly describe its primary source.

In Russia, information on workers job performance was historically gathered in numerous documentary materials of a variety of official bodies (the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Justice, Finance, and so on), and also local establishments and organizations – administration managerial control, factory inspection, zhandarmsko-policemen and judicial bodies.

For the creation of the “Chronicle”, materials were collected from 86 funds and 29 archival depositories:

1. Police Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russian Empire - including seven different office work branches (fund № 120)
2. Department for Defense of Public Security and Order (funds №№ 63, 58, 280, 111, 93, 59, 74, 75, 77, 126, 127, 308, 767)
3. Ministry of Justice of the Russian Empire, mainly in the Temporary Chancellery of Criminal Actions and Criminal Department of the First Section of the Criminal Department (fund № 124)
4. Personal funds of Pleve, Milukov, Shturmer and Guchkov in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central Historical Archive of Moscow (funds №№ 1463, 586, 579, 627, 555).

5. The documents of the Senate, State Council, State Parliament and the Committee of Ministers in the State Archive of Russian Federation in St. Petersburg (funds №№ 329-333, 341, 342, 507)

6. The documents of the Department of Trade and Industry (fund № 23), Mining Department (fund № 37), Ministry of Finance (fund № 20).

These documents can be divided for convenience into several groups.

The materials of factory inspection constitute the basic source of data for the "Chronicle." These concern number of workers and their professional structure, working conditions, attitudes, official organizations, and most important, the various forms of struggle (mainly strikes) are the materials of factory inspection. Collections of documents with the documentation of corresponding level (the factory inspector, the district factory inspector, factory inspection of the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry) are available both in regional and central archives<sup>31</sup>.

Such materials of factory inspection include the reports of factory inspectors on the moods of workers, with a description of their demands, the course of the strike, data on its leaders, reactions of the administration and punitive measures. Quite often it is possible to find in collection of documents of factory inspection information about a specific strike, in the form of a special registration file. These cards went to the ministries of Trade and Industry for the drawing up of an annual statistical report by province. On the cards were notations about the beginning and end of a given strike, number of participants, and demands on four basic points (wages, working hours, and so on). Large collections of documents on factory inspections are stored in the Russian

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<sup>31</sup> B. F. Dodonov, I. A. I. Kir'ianov. *Obzor arxivnykh istochnikov ob osnovnykh formakh massovogo rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii (1895 – fevral' 1917 gg.). Metodicheskoe posobie dlia sostavitelei "Xronik rabocheho i sotsial-demokraticheskogo dvizheniia.* M., 1900. p. 36-90.

State Historical Archive in Saint Petersburg<sup>32</sup>, in the Central Historical Archive of Moscow<sup>33</sup>, and in other locations.

A fairly thick layer of information on workers' and strike activity can be found in police and judicial documents. These reflect various forms of worker struggles and organization. They include official reports (data on concrete events – strikes, unrests, moods of workers, mutual relations of workers with administration, and so on). These documents are of particular importance, as, first, they describe concrete displays of worker struggles, and, second, they were written during the event or shortly thereafter, often by an eyewitness.

The second group of documents are made up of official reports and dispatches to higher management from middle management employees of gendarme-police institutions (this data has a more general character than the first), correspondence with administration of the enterprises, materials of inquiries, reports, decisions of the Special Conference of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Last, there were summary documents of a general nature: "Vsepoddanneishie doklady" (reports on civilians), "Ejenedel'nye vsepoddanneishie zapiski" (weekly notes on civilians), as well as reports and notes of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Justice, the Director of the Police, and so on.

A separate group of documents about mass forms of struggle and organization of workers were gathered in funds of the Soviet period, for example, in the fund of the publishing house "History of factories and plants". These are funds, as a rule, of secondary origin as the basis for such group of materials consists of copies of archival documents about working-class activities from the funds of the central and regional archives. However, it is sometimes possible to find the original materials as well.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 14-15.

<sup>33</sup> The Russian state historical archive in St.-Petersburg (former Central State Historical Archive of USSR in Leningrad); Central Historical Archive of Moscow (former Central State Historical Archive of USSR in Moscow).

Periodicals deserve separate mention. Those include contemporary newspapers that reveal worker discontent, collections of press clippings, reprints of articles, and so forth.

Memoirs of workers recalling various events of working-class activities in which they took direct part or which they witnessed constitute a special kind of document, known as an ego-document.

Complicating research on labour history in general and on working-class activities in Russia in particular is that different categories of workers were considered “under the supervision” of various state departments and ministries. Industrial workers at factories were under the supervision of the factory inspection of the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry. Metallurgical and mining workers were under the supervision of the Mountain Administration of the same ministry. Workers of transport were under the supervision of the Ministry of Railways. This fact renders considerably more complex the process of gathering and classifying data about working-class activities.

Having said this, the materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defense are of particular value due to the fact that these two ministries focused their energies on all the categories of the working class.

The Central Historical Archive of Moscow takes precedence in the list of archives in which the author of the dissertation was working. The archive includes the collections of documents of the highest official bodies of imperial Russia. The structure of funds with materials and documents on working-class activities is extensive and diverse.

Special attention was devoted to fund № 102 of the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, wherein are gathered the materials on mass forms of the labour struggle and the activities of workers' political parties and the organizations in all the territories of the Russian Empire. The police department consisted of 9 offices and had a special structure – a so-called Special Department. Materials about mass

forms of the struggle of workers were collected in several departments. In the “Chronicle”, the information is taken from the most important office of Department (2-5, 7, 9) and its Special Department.

Documents from the Special Department are especially informative. The Special or Political Department was created in 1889. Nearly all essential data on working-class activities in the country filtered down to it. The total, summary data in the form of notes, reports and so forth addressed to the Minister of Internal Affairs and the tsar were herein recorded. Materials of this department reflect data on economic and political strikes, demonstrations, meetings, confrontations of workers with police and soldiers, activity of working trade unions and strike committees, and so on.

The second department (legislative) dealt with the organization of police institutions in Russia, and with the development of the bills of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, mainly about labour questions. The cases on strike movements at various factories and plants were herein presented.

The third department (confidential) dealt with internal and foreign agencies, supervision and conducting of inquiries. Materials contain information about activities of political parties and organizations, reports of chiefs of the provincial police and security forces about worker strikes and unrests in various regions of the country.

The fourth department carried out supervision on the course of political inquiries. Abolished in 1902 (affairs were transferred in 7 departments), it was restored in 1907.

The sixth department was established between 1894 – 1906 and was concerned with the development of factory legislation. Cases about the position of workers, their attitudes, and so forth were recorded here.

The seventh department was established in 1902, and supervised the inquiries made by police institutions. Alongside this, it contains in its materials the documents on political demonstrations, meetings, strikes and unrests for 1905-1912<sup>34</sup>.

Noteworthy is fund № 58 of the Moscow provincial police institution, which contains the documents of local police bodies in Moscow.

A few words must be said regarding the materials stored in the Central historical archive of Moscow (CHAM). In the creation of the “Chronicle”, documents from three funds from this archive were used: № 16 – Office of the Moscow general governor; № 17 – Office of the Moscow governor; № 131 – the Moscow appellate court.

These funds contain extensive material on strikes and walkouts, unrests, meetings, gatherings, and so forth in Moscow and Moscow province from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century up until 1917. These materials include reports, dispatches and telegrams of police on low-level employees about the course, reasons, and consequences of labour conflicts in Moscow and Moscow province. These contain as well police reports on mid-level employees to the Moscow general governor; correspondence of the owners and administrators of factories with ranks of police bodies and the Moscow general governor on mass work demonstrations; reports of judicial sessions on cases of instigators of worker unrests at factories, and many other materials.

Among the funds of the Central historical archive of Moscow where the materials about working-class movement in Russia were collected, fund № 2005 of the Factory Inspector of 10th district of the Moscow province contains the documents for 1896 – 1916. These are the collections of the complaints of workers to factory inspectors, various circulars of the factory inspector of the Moscow province, and so on.

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<sup>34</sup> B. F. Dodonov, I. A. I. Kir'ianov. Obzor arxivnykh istochnikov ob osnovnykh formakh massovogo rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii (1895 – fevral' 1917 gg.). Metodicheskoe posobie dlia sostavitelei "Xronik rabocheho i sotsial-demokraticheskogo dvizheniia. M., 1900. p. 40-46.

Fund № 179 of Moscow Municipal Duma (Parlament) and Town Council includes the documents for 1871 up to 1917. There, data about the duration (in the form of tables) and character of strikes, number of workers striking, and so forth are gathered.

Thus, the descriptions of labour conflicts in the “Chronicle” reflect sources that characterize labour conflicts from participants on different sides of the conflicts.

*1.4.4. "The Chronicle of the working-class movement" as a source for the history of working-class activity in Russia at the end of 19th – beginning of the 20th century.*

The "Chronicle" was compiled using certain historiographical approaches and methods of critical analysis of the origin and maintenance of sources. All information presented in "Chronicle" went through the process of verification of the reliability of the data given by the sources. These allow for the specification of the time and place of an event, and the rooting out of inaccuracies.

During the selection of evidence, we considered the possibility of distortion of facts, and the reasons and purposes for this (quite often connected with various social situations, as well as with political struggles). Distortion of facts can occur both at the stage of formation of the document and in its subsequent storage.

First, the compilers were guided by a source which was the closest in time to the occurrence of the event. In the first instance they selected information from institutions in which the most impartial, objective information was gathered. For all sections of the "Chronicle" the following rule was used: cards that only made reference to research or memoirs were excluded from consideration due to possible issues of unreliability.

Different interpretations of the event are mentioned in notes to each of articles. The compilers of the "Chronicle" did not limit themselves to a bare recording of the event, but on a numerous occasions added to the record a more or less detailed summary, and in some cases quoted the source.

Approaching the "Chronicle" from a critical angle, two very important questions arise.

First, we must ask whether it is legitimate to apply the term "source" to the "Chronicle". The answer lies in an evaluation of the chronicle itself; that is, its features and specificity.



Chronicles are a transitional kind of historical work positioned at the interstice of source and research: it establishes historical sequences of events. The chronicle is related to historical sources because in fact it is a generalization of primary historical sources, including the exact, documentarily confirmed facts. Thus, the chronicle can be compared to a general statistical source that is also based on primary documentation<sup>35</sup>.

On this basis we can assert that the "Chronicle" is a secondary written historical source on the history of the workers' and strike movements of Russia of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its compilers aspired to precise documentation and brevity of narration.

We shall now say a few words about the reliability of the source. Since all the records are gathered from archival materials, the source is quite reliable. If one labour conflict is mentioned several times in different archive funds, the information is crossed-checked. In cases of contradictory accounts, all scenarios are included in the "Chronicle."

The source is truly representative. Strikes in the Russian Empire were illegal, and thus nearly every one of them was documented by representatives of the government, as was established by law. Crucially, all labour conflicts that were ever registered during the period from 1895 to 1905 are included in the "Chronicle."

We shall conclude with a comment on the comparison of the data from the "Collection." Since both sources are analysed in the current research, we shall outline from the beginning how they correspond to each other. The materials of the "Chronicle" include all the labour conflicts collected and documented by the Factory Inspectorate, plus materials from the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire (including seven different office work branches), from

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<sup>35</sup> See the first paragraph of this Part: "The review of sources on the history of working-class movement".

the Department for the Defense of Public Security and the Order Ministry of Justice of the Russian Empire, mainly in the Temporary Chancellery of Criminal Actions and Criminal Department of the First Section of the Criminal Department and the materials from the personal funds of Pleve, Milukov, Shturmer and Guchkov in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central Historical Archive of Moscow; documents of the Senate, State Council, State Parliament and the Committee of Ministers in the State Archive of Russian Federation in St. Petersburg, documents of the Department of Trade and Industry, materials from the Mining Department and documents from the Ministry of Finance.

#### *1.4.5. Conclusions*

The "Chronicle" is a legitimate source for the current research in that:

1) "The Chronicle" contains the data necessary for carrying out a deep analysis of the research topic. Information about the basic characteristics of labour conflicts is essential for our statistical analysis (start date of a strike, its reasons, duration and location, number of strikers and their demands and the results of a strike) and there is no need for a detailed description of the labour conflicts (for example, the names of the strike instigators, or of all strikers).

2) One of the main advantages of the source is its geographical frame. The "Chronicle" covers the strikes in all the territories of the Russian Empire, which allows for the first time an analysis of labour conflicts in Russia at such a scale.

3) A specific feature of the "Chronicle" as a secondary source is that the primary contemporary records are presented there completely free of processing and analysis. And though, as has already been mentioned, the information in the "Chronicle" is presented in a condensed form, this information was abridged with minimum losses, the latter of which are insignificant for the current research.

### 1.5. Methods of data processing

The structure of the “Chronicle”<sup>36</sup> itself and prominent features of the data contained in it allowed to construct a database for the application of mathematical and computer methods of research.

Most historical databases were created for the solution of concrete research problems and to be used as an informational supply ("problem-oriented databases"). However, a number of databases have been created for the purpose of storing the information of a historical source, or making this information more accessible to researchers ("source-oriented data bases"). Such databases or parts thereof can be used in various areas of historical research. Both these approaches are widely applied by historians.

There have also been attempts to combine in a database these two basic approaches. Melding them, the historical database thus becomes more topical, with extremely rich potential. With this approach, the researcher can not only access a large file of structured data in digital format, but also can thus create in any form, any number of structures intended to solve the research problem.

The construction of such a database is possible if during the creation of its kernel the "source-oriented" approach is used. This has been considered by the creators of the database that will be used in the given research. In the constructed database, not only has the most significant information been reflected, but the structure of this information has been displayed as well.

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<sup>36</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX: Vyp. I “1895 god”; Vyp. II. “1896 god”; Vyp. III “1897 god”; IV “1898 god”; Vyp. V “1899 god”; Vyp. VI “1900 god”; Vyp. VII “1901 god”; Vyp. VIII “1902 god”; Vyp. IX “1903 god”. (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005.

The creation of the database was facilitated by the fact that the format itself (the form of the description of the data) of the “Chronicle” has a defined data model of the information presentation in a database<sup>37</sup>. One final point pertaining to the design of the database for solving the problems defined in the current research was that it was not necessary to use all the information presented in the source. In this connection, in certain cases we were able to simplify the structural model of the construction of the data.

As mentioned above, in our case, the information structure of the source predetermined the future structure of the database. An optimum variant for the realization of the information contained in the source is the relational database<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Garskova I. M. Bazy i banki dannyx v istoricheskix issledovaniiax. M., 1994. p. 87-88.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 69-78.

All the data included in the database is contained in one file. The whole database contains 24 information fields and around 14000 records.

The table titled "Main" contains a specification of strikes and unrests, and consists of twenty four fields:

1. A unique code
2. Date that strike started
3. Year
4. Province
5. Factory location
6. Factory name
7. Manufacturing branch
8. Type of labour conflict
9. Belonging to collective strike
10. Belonging to general strike
11. Repeatability of strike
12. Duration of strike
13. Number of strikers
14. Number of workers at the enterprise
15. Number of striking workers at the enterprise in relation to total number of workers at enterprise
16. Professional structure of strikers
17. Reasons for labour conflict
18. Demands of workers
19. Presence of an accompanying demand about dismissal at default of the basic demands
20. Administrative actions
21. Result of labour conflict

22. Damage caused by workers
23. Presence of a propaganda element
24. A reference in the source

The relational structure of the created database also allowed us to build graphs and diagrams, using the data from all three tables simultaneously.

During the creation and filling in of the database, a number of technical problems arose. First was a problem connected with the source structure. At the initial stage of designing the database, it was necessary to create a data structure that would reflect and transfer the structure of the data of each article in the “Chronicle”.

Development of the logical structure of the database was facilitated by the fact that the researchers did not require the full amount of information contained in the source. For example, information on surnames, family names, patronymics and the origins of strike instigators and strikers was not necessary; it was sufficient just to note that the names of instigators or organizers of the labour conflict the researchers recorded in the source.

Many questions arose while transferring the data from the “Chronicle” to a digital format. For instance, there was the problem of the formalization of data. An in-depth analysis demanded more than the simple transfer of sections of text from the articles to the database records. The problem was resolved through the development of a system of special codes.

The table “Main” has five fields for which it was necessary to create special system of codes for simplification of input of the information and its subsequent computer processing.

First, we have the field “Professional structure of strikers”. A system of codes was created, based on the rule that every group of strikers encountered in the articles of the “Chronicle” were to be given a serial number.

By the same principle, the coding is constructed for the field "Conflict" where the type of labour conflict (see Table 2) was specified.

Tab. 1.5.1. The list of codes for filling out the information field "Conflict"

Number	Type of conflict
1	Strike
2	Unrest
3	presentation of the requirement
4	presentation of complaints, applications
5	collective strike
6	meeting, gathering, majovka
7	demonstration, procession, meeting, manifestation
8	presentation of the judicial claim
9	general performance
10	general strike
11	collective unrest

The system of the coding of a field "Result of strike" (see Table 2) is based on the same principle.

Table 1.5.2. The list of codes for information field filling "Result of strike"

Number	The result of a conflict
1	The demands were met completely



<b>2</b>	The demands were not met
<b>3</b>	The demands were met partially
<b>4</b>	Not known
<b>5</b>	Promises were made to satisfy demands

The greatest challenge was the creation of a system of codes for the information fields “Reasons for Strike”, “Demands of Strikers”, “Administrative Actions” and “Damage Caused by Workers”. For all four fields, codes were created that would most fully reflect all available versions of the reasons for the labour conflict, the demands of the workers, as well as actions of the administration and damages caused by workers or by the administration. (See Tables 3-6).

Table 1.5.3. The list of codes for information field “Reasons for Strike”

<b>Number</b>	Reasons for the conflict
<b>1</b>	Reduction/ low/ unsatisfactory salary
<b>2</b>	Reduction/ low wages
<b>3</b>	Delays in salary payment
<b>4</b>	Heavy fines, introduction of penalties
<b>5</b>	Increase of the work day

<b>6</b>	Reduction of the work day
<b>7</b>	Introduction of a new daily routine (changing an old one), discontent with the old schedule
<b>8</b>	Malfunction of techniques (machine tools, steam-engines), Other technical problems, a stop of works (because of malfunction of techniques), introduction of new technologies. machines
<b>9</b>	Delays in raw materials delivery, poor quality of raw materials (a stop of work because of it)
<b>10</b>	Conditions of life (a payment for habitation, food, health services, sanitary, et cetera.)
<b>11</b>	Dismissals, employment of workers, changes of terms of employment, dismissal of masters (for example, for the rough reference or incompetence), et
<b>12</b>	Arbitrariness of administration, deceit, shortchanging, the rough reference with workers, et cetera. discrimination
<b>13</b>	Other (everything that does not fall into the above-stated categories)
<b>14</b>	Introduction of new working conditions
<b>15</b>	Economic
<b>16</b>	In solidarity
<b>17</b>	Conflicts on national field
<b>18</b>	Curtailment of production
<b>19</b>	Unsatisfied with the duration of the working day

<b>20</b>	In connection with funeral (suicide, destruction)
<b>21</b>	In protest of the actions of authorities
<b>22</b>	In connection with an anniversary of event (serfdom cancellation et cetera.)
<b>23</b>	Seeing-off of exiled persons (political prisoners)
<b>24</b>	Under the pressure of strikers from other enterprises
<b>25</b>	Discussion of a question on the calling of a strike

Table 1.5.4. The list of codes for information field “Demands of Strikers”

<b>Number</b>	<b>Demand</b>
<b>1</b>	To increase, return, leave (price-work) salary, to pay it in time, to pay debts on it
<b>2</b>	To increase, return old wages
<b>3</b>	To reduce, cancel penalties
<b>4</b>	To pay idle time, overtime, additional work
<b>5</b>	To shorten work hours (to return old duration)
<b>6</b>	To increase the work day (to return old duration)

<b>7</b>	To enter (anew), to cancel, restore the schedule of the working day (including to beginning, increase of a lunch break, of tea break, etcetera.)
<b>8</b>	To enter, restore the termination of work before holidays and days off earlier (after) usual time, to enter, restore holidays
<b>9</b>	To improve quality of raw materials, to provide uninterrupted supply of same; demands connected to hardware of factory (to replace, update, etcetera various machine tools, their details, and so on)
<b>10</b>	To reduce the prices of food, products in a local store, to be transferred to state food (to be paid extra money for them), to improve quality of food (food, products in a bench, etcetera.)
<b>11</b>	To give, improve various household services (to improve the sanitary condition of a habitation), to give state habitation, to cancel, reduce, or to relinquish former payment for various household services (habitation, a bath, kitchen, boiled water, et
<b>12</b>	Not to dismiss, restore, dismiss, (to dismiss for a while of agricultural works, et cetera.), to change to (prolong) term of hiring of workers, et cetera.
<b>13</b>	To dismiss the bosses, the director (for various reasons: roughness, etcetera.)
<b>14</b>	To improve or restore former working conditions
<b>15</b>	Other (everything that does not fall into the above-stated categories)
<b>16</b>	Economic demands
<b>17</b>	Political demands
<b>18</b>	Social payments
<b>19</b>	To hand out passports
<b>20</b>	To cancel, give out, fill correctly pay books
<b>21</b>	To pay strike days

22	To reconsider performance standards
23	Demands were not put forward
24	Demand for the organization of schools, libraries, medical establishments, their improvement and expansion
25	To establish a working day of specified duration
26	To give dismissal

Table 1.5.5. The list of codes for information field “Administrative Actions”

Number	Action of Administration
1	Lock-out, calculation of all workers (the announcement of a new admission)
2	Dismissal of some workers (including organizers and those that joined)
3	Arrest, detention of working (organizers and adjoined)
4	Dispatch (home, from Moscow)
5	Penalization
6	Eviction from apartments
7	Enrolment of strike-breakers
8	Call of police (district police officer, et cetera.), armies (Cossacks, etcetera cetera.)

<b>9</b>	Call for the factory inspector
<b>10</b>	Holding of workers for court imprisonment, et cetera.
<b>11</b>	Reproof
<b>12</b>	Corporal punishments

Table 1.5.6. The list of codes for information field “Damage Caused by Workers”

<b>Code</b>	Type of damage
<b>1</b>	Damage of state property (breaking windows, setting fires, et cetera.)
<b>2</b>	Theft of state property (a foodstuff, alcohol, materials et cetera.)
<b>3</b>	Beating, wounding of representatives of administration (representatives of the factory inspector)
<b>4</b>	Murder of representatives of administration
<b>5</b>	Dismissal
<b>6</b>	The owner is fined
<b>7</b>	Damage of private property, beating of owners of private property
<b>8</b>	Damage of property (plunder of apartments, et cetera.)

Thanks to the system of codes, it was possible to transfer into the database, without a basic loss of sense and structure, information from the articles of the "Chronicle".

The data in the database are presented in a way that both permits the carrying out of a multidimensional computerized analysis of the material, construction of graphs, diagrams and inquiries, and also allows the use of the database as an independent source on the history of strike activity in Russia.

## ***1.6. Methodology of the dissertation***

Nowadays, labour history is typically associated with economic or social history. This situation may be related to the notion that a reasonably objective picture of the past calls for an interdisciplinary approach. The need to make use of various non-traditional approaches for historical research is recognized both by Russian<sup>39</sup> and Western<sup>40</sup> historians. What is the interdisciplinary approach through which many outstanding historians see the future? Most historians are obliged to deal with statistical materials and figures. In order to analyse this kind of material, data processing skills and a knowledge of information analysis are helpful. While it is rather difficult to draw an accurate line in the history of methodology, nevertheless the narrative-descriptive approach seems to have lost some ground. A proper analysis of statistical materials demands the use of various kinds of sources and various methods of analysis.

All of the above is true for any area of research, but it is especially so for labour history because of the specific features of the sources for any given subject. A historian of labour history, that is, the history of working-class movements, more often deals with statistical data than with narrative or descriptive sources – which nonetheless serve as helpful ancillary material. For better or for worse, the historian has no right to "cut

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<sup>39</sup> See.: Borodkin L.I. Kvantitativnye issledovaniia stachechnogo dvizheniia i faktorov ego razvitiia v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii // Rossiia na rubezhe 19-20 vekov. Materialy nauchnykh chtenii. M., 1999; Sokolov A.K. Drama rabochego klassa i perspektivy rabochei istorii v sovremennoi Rossii. // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2004. M., 2005. S. 23; Pushkareva I.M., Pushkareva N.L.. "Novaia rabochaia istoriia v zarubezhnoi istoriografii. // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2001/2002. m., 2004. P. 53.

<sup>40</sup> See.: Alf Lüdtke, The Appeal of Exterminating "Others": German Workers and the Limits of Resistance; The Journal of Modern History, Vol. 64, Supplement: Resistance Against the Third Reich (Dec., 1992), pp. 46-67.



out" from the past especially bright, colourful, unusual cases or facts; on the contrary, he is obliged to take into account all available sources of information.

There has been a recent surge in interest in labour history. In Russia, there are several large research groups working on the subject: in Kostroma University, Yaroslavl University, Lomonosov Moscow State University and the Russian Historical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. We will note some topics that have been tackled of late.

The framework of labour history encompasses many subjects: Marseilles Van Der Linden has studied work motivation<sup>41</sup>; Leonid Borodkin, alongside many other things has looked at workers' salary differentiation<sup>42</sup>, B.N.Mironov takes an interest in labour ethics of workers and anthropometry<sup>43</sup>, and Irina Pushkareva analyses labour conflicts at factories and enterprises<sup>44</sup>. Noteworthy too is that the regional frameworks of research varies strongly: historians and sociologists abroad study mainly the labour history of their countries: France, Italy, Germany, the United States, while Russian researchers focus their attention mainly on the history of Russia. Chronological frameworks likewise vary –in the main, Russian scholars are interested in the post-

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<sup>41</sup> Van der Linden M. Motivatsiia truda v rossiiskoi promyshlennosti: nekotorye predvaritel'nye suzheniia // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2000. M., 2000.

<sup>42</sup> Borodkin L.I. Neravenstvo dokhodov v period industrial'noi revoliutsii. Universal'na li gipoteza o krivoi Kuznetsa? // Rossiia i mir. Pamiati professora Valerii Ivanovicha Bovykina: Sb. statei. M.: "Rossiiskaia politicheskaiia entsiklopediia" (ROSSPEN), 2001. P.331-355

<sup>43</sup> Mironov B.N. "Poslal Bog rabotu, da otnial chert oxotu: trudovaia etika rossiiskix rabochix v poreformennoe vremia // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 1998-1999. M., 1999; B.N. Mironov, Blagosostoianie naseleniia i revoliutsii v imperskoï Rossii, Moscow, 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Pushkareva I.M. Novyi kompleks istochnikov o rabochem dvizhenii v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii: "Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895-1917 gg. Xronika // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2001/2002. M., 2004.

reform period or the first decades of the history of Soviet Russia, whereas for Western historians, frequently the middle and the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are of particular interest. In any case, the core element in historical research is the application of the methods of analysis and the data proceeding from a source.

In the last fifteen years, the subject of labour history has gained special currency because Russian historians were finally able to study the topic without needing to resort to particular ideological forms. Too, they were inspired by the experience of non-Russian colleagues. This possibility of applying theoretical and methodological elaborations is of great value due to the specificity of the chosen topic of research.

These developments are of real import to current researchers of labour history. This is closely connected first of all with the issuance of a new summary source of a special kind, the "Chronicle"<sup>45</sup>. This is a unique source for the labour history of Russia, and is comparable to the sources used by some experts abroad<sup>46</sup>. Indeed, it is very important to consider the application of methods used by western researchers in an analysis of the "Chronicle."

Not less important is the determination of the conceptual distinctions between the development of labour history in Russia and abroad. This will allow us not only to make an objective comparison of various approaches to the study of labour history, but also to understand which methods result in the best analyses of labour history for the pre-revolutionary industrial period of Russia on the basis of the materials presented in the "Chronicle".

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<sup>45</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX. M., 1992-2005.

<sup>46</sup> More detailed information about the source is presented in the next part of the dissertation "Sources".

On this point, Irina Pushkareva's paper, "New labour history in a foreign historiography"<sup>47</sup> reviews western research on labour history. Tracking changes in foreign historiography since the 1980s that have led to an understanding of need to revise methods, use interdisciplinary approaches, and address new problems in labour history and the working-class movement, the author concludes that, "as slowly as the process of clearing of cargo of out-of-date postulates goes, the prestige of Russian science will be supported first of all by those historians who – unlike in old times – will find forces to go in the interpretations not from the concept, but from a source, while coordinating advanced achievements in the field of sociology, psychology and history"<sup>48</sup>.

In the context of a discussion of Western approaches and methods in labour history, it is necessary to mention French historian Michelle Perrot's "Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890"<sup>49</sup>, published in 1974. Taking a sociological approach, the author mines a vast amount of archival material, and offers in support of her thesis both quantitative and qualitative evidence. Considering the strike as a social phenomenon allows us to trace the roots of the strike movement and to establish the interrelations within the phenomenon itself. Perrot takes into account strike activity not only in industries, but also in small factories and craft shops. She analyses the impact of economic conjuncture, trade unions and political environment on workers' actions. Special attention is paid to a change that took place in the strike movement after the economic depression of 1883: economic stagnation influenced the tenor of the striking, and labour conflicts during a crisis were shorter in duration and less offensive in tone. The author sets out differences in the strike movement both between different groups of

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<sup>47</sup> Pushkareva I.M., N.L. Pushkareva. "Novaïa rabochaïa istoriïa v zarubezhnoï istoriografii // Sotsial'naïa istoriïa. Ezhegodnik. 2001/2002. M., 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>49</sup> Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), two volumes.

workers (male, female and children) and between strikes in the textile, metal, mining and leather industries. Such cross-comparative analysis is possible only by using very detailed data, and Perrot unquestionably contributes a great deal to the historical knowledge in the field.

A look at the work of Charles Tilly and Roberto Frantsosi<sup>50</sup> (“Studies with the implementation of statistical methods”), leads us to the conclusion that the source base for labour conflicts, despite the difference in time and regional frameworks of research, is similar – it is statistical material. In our research we also deal with statistics. This kind of a source allows rather effective coding and formalizing of information for subsequent computer processing.

Work with concrete data assumes a departure from traditional methods of analysis, so while studying labour history one may systematize the material and already arrive at quantitative characteristics necessary for statistical processing. Thus, source frameworks allow us to apply the advanced approaches that have been used in similar research by non-Russian authors. As to the conceptual field and knowledge regarding the strike struggle in Russia, we shall provide a brief update.

When considering some basic conclusions to which non-Russian researchers have come, it is important to keep in mind the specificity of historical development in Russia and the West. Charles Tilly as well as Michelle Perrot<sup>51</sup> writes about the massive role played by trade unions in the organization of strikes in France in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, but, since trade unions appeared in force in Russia only after our period of inquiry, their role during the period before the revolution of 1905 was minimal. The same concerns the role of the city and city environment in the stimulation of labour

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<sup>50</sup> Tilly Ch., Shorter Ed., (eds) *Strikes in France. 1830-1968*. Cambridge. 1974; Roberto Franzosi. *The Puzzle of Strikes. Class and State Strategies in Postwar Italy*. Cambridge. 1995.

<sup>51</sup> Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), p.29.

conflicts: critically, in Russia there was absolutely no other source of replenishment - three quarters of workers were natives of villages. In connection with the strong ties of workers with villages, seasonal work in factories remained quite popular. The course of the strike struggle can be said to have been shaped by historical features of the studied region and the chronological framework of the research.

So, for research in the course of labour history and workers' history, the sources of which are mainly represented by large-scale sources and statistical materials, those newest methods of analysis that allow for statistical and computer data processing and their subsequent visualization seem to be the best choice. In general, historians use a common set of factors to determine the character and the specificity of phenomena such as strikes. Significantly, throughout different historical periods and in different countries, these factors were weighted differently.

Hence, it seems that historical research conducted by non-Russian scholars may be quite useful to Russian historians. If the historian wishes to be not only informed of international scientific discoveries (which is already very important), but also opened up to new approaches and methods of analysis and source processing, it would behove her to regularly check the applicability of techniques that emerge from a non-native perspective. Recently, historical science underwent qualitative changes connected first of all with the use of new methods and an interdisciplinary approach. This is especially appreciable in labour history, due to the specific features of this topic's sources. Suffice to mention the words of Irina Pushkareva: "the aggregate way of the reconstruction of the past – by the "coupling" of facts for the purpose of their subsequent generalization, "a spelling of history by means of scissors and glue"<sup>52</sup> has given way to new one"<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> Collingwood R. The Idea of History. New York, 1956. P. 257.

<sup>53</sup> Pushkareva I.M., N.L. Pushkareva. "Novaïa rabochaïa istoriia v zarubezhnoï istoriografii // Sotsial'naïa istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2001/2002. M., 2004. P. 51.

To consider conjoinings, to define, for example, the relation of the branch of manufacture with worker demands, to explain the dependence of the result of a labour conflict on the reasons for the strike, we must be able to transfer sociological knowledge onto a historical platform. So, we accept the need for an interdisciplinary approach while studying labour conflicts.

Regarding the statistical methods to be used in our research, we would like to speak briefly about cluster analysis and regression analysis, as those are our main tools. Traditionally, typologies are constructed by reducing to grouping studied objects on the basis of one (two – three) signs. It is important to notice that traditional receptions of typological grouping are directed on revealing of qualitatively homogeneous groups of objects by delimitation of intervals on an axis of one of group creating signs; these receptions have an informal character and are carried out on the basis of the concepts and experience of previous research.

The technologically advanced methods of multidimensional quantitative analysis permit classification on a relatively broad and objective basis – taking into account essential structural-typological signs and characteristics of the distribution of objects in the set system of signs. Such a classification is made on the basis of the desire to collect in one group somewhat similar objects in such a way that objects from other groups will be as dissimilar as possible. Such methods are called "methods of multidimensional classification" (cluster analysis, taxonomy). We plan to use the k-means. This method allows us to receive the centres of the classes (together with other parameters of descriptive statistics) on each of initial signs, as well as to view a graphic representation of how much and on what parameters the received classes differ.

With the help of cluster analysis, we will analyse the structure of the provinces in Russia, and in the next step the structure of Russian industrial enterprises at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This step of analysis is will enable us determine the territorial distribution of strike activity.

The regression analysis will help us to ascertain which factors influenced such basic characteristics of the strike movement as the intensity of strike activity, the scale of strikes and the results of labour conflicts. Thanks to the new source, it is now possible to analyse a substantial set of characteristics such as: year, province, location of factory, manufacturing branch, belonging to collective strike, repeatability of strike, duration of strike, number of strikers, number of workers at the enterprise striking in relation to the total number of workers at the enterprise, professional structure of the striking workers, reasons for the labour conflict, worker demands, administrative actions, results of labour conflicts, damage caused by workers, and the presence of a propaganda element.

## *Chapter II. Historiography*

There is a large body of literature on the working-class movement in Russia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: monographs, collective works, articles and surveys. This topic is compelling: the strike movement in pre-revolutionary Russia substantially influenced the development of the country.

However, interest in labour history was not constant; it rose sharply, and then faded away. This ebb and flow of interest was mostly evident with Russian historians and politicians - western scholars showed a more even interest in the subject. There are some books on the working-class movement written before 1917, but the majority of studies were published during the Soviet period. The dissolution of the USSR and subsequent crisis saw a plummeting of Russian scholarly interest in the topic. Consequently, it is difficult to find literature from the last two decades directly devoted to labour history. Nevertheless, the ones that have appeared are quite important<sup>54</sup>, especially the articles and monographs that have examined the labour issue from different perspectives, whether using new methods or focusing on new aspects of the phenomenon.

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<sup>54</sup> See.: Borodkin L.I. Volny stachechnogo dvizheniia v Rossii kontsa 19 – nachala 20 vv.: o roli informatsionnykh faktorov // Rabochie v Rossii: istoricheskiĭ opyt i sovremennoe polozhenie / ed. CHurakova. M., Editorial URSS, 2004; Pushkareva I.M. Novye podkhody v izuchenii konfliktov rabochix i predprinimatelei v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v rakurse diskursivnykh metodov issledovaniĭ // Rossiia i mir. Pamiati professora Valerii Ivanovicha Bovykina: Sb. statei. M.: ROSSPEN, 2001; Pushkareva I.M. Vozvrashchenie k zabytoi teme: massovoe rabochee dvizhenie v nachale 20 veka // Istoriografiia, istochnikovedenie, metody istoricheskogo issledovaniia // Otechestvennaia istoriia. 2007. №2; Novikov A.V. Trebovaniia rabochix Verxnego Povolzh'ia v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii 1905 g. kak otrazhenie ix mentaliteta // Klio. SPb., 2002. №2. p. 141-150; Ashmarina S.V. Sotsial'noe straxovanie v usloviiax novoi ekonomicheskoi politiki 20-x gg. 20 veka // Rabochie v Rossii: istoricheskiĭ opyt i sovremennoe polozhenie / Ed.. D.O. CHurakova. M., Editorial URSS, 2004. p. 200-202; Aliavdin K.G. Novye elektronnye resursy po istorii rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii. Baza dannyx "KHronika i ee analiz. // Krug idei: istoricheskaiia informatika v informatsionnom obshchestve. M., 2001.



Here we would like to highlight the publication of the chronicle “Working-class movement in Russia. 1895 – February, 1917 the Chronicle” (the “Chronicle”)<sup>55</sup>.

Notably, the very recent past has seen a resurgence of interest in labour history of the pre-revolutionary Russia. This may be related to different reasons: certain changes in the socio-political life of Russia, the further development of methods of complex analysis of statistical materials and quantitative data proceeding from historical sources, and finally, the broad implications of the massive set of new statistical data.

The most renowned centre for Russian labour history is directed by Professor Leonid Borodkin at Lomonosov Moscow State University. The Department for Historical Information Science organizes workshops, presentations, conferences, and reunions for researchers in the field of economic, social, financial and industrial history. In March 2002, historical sources, archive materials, articles, monographs, surveys and books on Russian workers and labour in Russia were collated for a project entitled, “The Labour Relations Evolution in Russian Industries”<sup>56</sup>. The project was not limited to contemporary Russian history: the timeframe included the period from pre-revolutionary industrialization to the New Economic Policy (further after NEP) years. The appearance of such a centre is a milestone in the development of Russian historical science, not only because it will allow historians to share their work, but mainly because it creates a venue for the review and reconsideration of conventional knowledge in light of new research methods and approaches that are being used for data analysis.

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<sup>55</sup> *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX: Vyp. I “1895 god”; Vyp. II. “1896 god”; Vyp. III “1897 god”; IV “1898 god”; Vyp. V “1899 god”; Vyp. VI “1900 god”; Vyp. VII “1901 god”; Vyp. VIII “1902 god”; Vyp. IX “1903 god”. (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005. (further – “Xronika rabochego dvizheniia”).*

<sup>56</sup> The website of the project: <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Labor/english.htm>.

In western academic circles, labour histories in general and working-class movements in particular continue to fascinate scholars. Typically, these research projects are conducted within the frameworks of social history rather than political science or economic history. For example, at a well-known centre of labour history at Amsterdam University<sup>57</sup> directed by Professor Marcel Van Der Linden, sociologists and social historians analyse labour conditions, strike activity, labour motivation and fluctuations in wages of workers. The research is mainly focused on contemporary history. Historians working in social history hone in on slightly different things than economic historians, and their methods and approaches are taken from the field of sociology.

The main objective of this section is to provide a brief overview of previous studies on labour history, training our sights specifically on the labour history of pre-revolutionary Russia. Thus, we will have a glimpse of what already has been accomplished, and what awaits future work.

As the body of current literature is disorganized, it seems that the best way to survey it would be to divide it into four main groups, according to the topic of the examination or working hypothesis. Because the issue is very controversial, it was decided to define four main schools of thought in the field of Russian labour history. Therefore, the current section of the thesis is divided into four parts, and in each part, literature is brought forth according to relevance. The materials have been divided according to following schools of thought: (1) Mentality of Russian workers: who were the workers? A sociological approach to the subject; (2) Regional labour history: leading role of Saint Petersburg and the Central Industrial Region<sup>58</sup> in strike activity versus that of the south of Russia; (3) Were strikes a political weapon in the hands of

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<sup>57</sup> Web site of the Institute: <http://socialhistory.org/en>.

<sup>58</sup> Central Industrial Region.

labour parties?; and (4) Political nature of strikes: Influence of a financial and economic conjuncture: business-cycle and economic-hardship theories.

In the first part, an analysis of the literature on workers' mentality in the framework of the labour history of Russia will be presented. An examination of this literature helps us to understand the sociological context of the phenomenon, and to explore it on a macro-level. In the second part of the research, regional labour history will be outlined. The main interest lay in the labour movements in Saint Petersburg and the industrial cities of Ural during the years of the Revolution (1905-1907). These studies were undertaken on a regional, micro-level. The third part of the historiographical review will focus on surveys and monographs wherein the political element of the strike is the main subject of the research. The majority of literature on Russian labour history belongs to this school of thought. Three of the above-mentioned groups of literature have only a secondary importance for our dissertation due to the fact that they do not analyse strike statistics, and their research methods are of a strictly descriptive character. The last group of studies looked at in this part of the paper deal with labour movements in general, and strikes in particular, with the help of mathematical approaches. Mainly, the business-cycle and economic-hardship theories are tested there. This group has a special significance for our research because of the relevant methods of analysis.

First and foremost, we shall note that we have no intention of reviewing each and every book in the field. Our main task is to draw a map of the relevant literature in order to understand how and when the historical thought developed towards what we have now. Obviously, we will spend the most time on those studies that both engage with labour history in pre-revolutionary Russia, and employ statistical analyses of strikes.

Importantly, no English-language or French-language studies that carried out a statistical analysis of strikes in Russia before the First Revolution were found. As such, the presented English-language and French-language studies were chosen on the basis

of their having methodology that is similar to the one used in our study, or their subject being somehow connected to labour history in pre-revolutionary Russia. Thus, the reviewed literature is valuable for the present study from either a methodological or a factual point of view.

### ***2.1. Mentality of the workers: who were the workers? A sociological approach to the subject.***

Moving forward to a more concrete examination of works on the working-class movement in pre-revolutionary Russia, we will wish to point out that there are but a handful of studies that consider the regional features of this movement. Further, there is a rather limited quantity of work that covers the pre-revolutionary era as a whole. For well-known reasons, most researchers have been attracted by the first years after the Russian Revolution of 1905.

Any examination of the working-class movement needs to take into account the conditions of the working class, as well as the mentality of workers. It would be a mistake to forget that the majority of workers were “yesterday's peasants”, possessing a mentality that strongly differed from that of handicraftsmen and small urban entrepreneurs. In the process of active urbanization, a large social group - that is, the "workers" - began to develop. According to available data, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, approximately 90% of workers still had land ties to their villages<sup>59</sup>. This constitutes a colossal difference between Russian industrial workers at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and industrial workers in Europe. As has been observed by a number of scholars, the mentality of workers at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a complex combination of peasant- and urbanized lower-class mentality. Russian industrial workers at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century lived, thought, and stated their interests as “yesterday’s peasants”. For our purposes, this mainly meant that workers had extremely minimal political ambitions, and were to a great extent focused on the provision of food and shelter.

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<sup>59</sup> Rashin A.G. Formirovanie rabocheho klassa v Rossii: Istoriko-'konomicheskie ocherki. M., 1958. p. 573.

These features influenced the forms of labour protest, as well as the character of workers' demands. Consequently, it is impossible to disregard studies where the problem of labour movements is simultaneously tackled with the problem of the mentality of workers.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, it is not possible to track the influence of this particular mentality on labour conflicts on such a large scale as the whole Russian Empire, since every region had its distinguishing features and particularities when it came to the formation of the labour class. Thus, this aspect will not be included in current research.

Among the above-mentioned group of researchers, special attention should be paid to Yuriy Kir'yanov. His research centred on the mentality of workers at the transitional period, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As did other historians in the field dealing with such a complicated issue as the mentality of newly formed social class of urbanized workers, Kir'yanov based his research on a wide variety of documents from the official legal regional offices (the "Collection", inquiries from court attorneys, leaflets and agitation papers of social democrats addressing the workers) as well as on the memories and diaries of the workers themselves. Kir'anov also tackles the important issue of religion. Peasant and worker mentality diverged strongly on this issue. Village life ran along highly conservative

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<sup>60</sup> See.: Kir'ianov I.A.I. Mentalitet rabochix Rossii na rubezhe 19-20 v. // Rabochie i intelligentsiia Rossii v epoxa reform i revoliutsii, 1861 - fevral' 1917 g. / RAN. Otd-nie istorii. In-t ros. istorii. S.-Peterb. fil., Kaliforniiskii un-t v Berkli (SShA) i dr.; Redkol.: Potolov S.I. (otv. red.) i dr. S.-Peterburg, 1997; Polishchuk N.S. Obychai i nruvy rabochix Rossii (konets 19 - nachalo 20 v.) // Rabochie i intelligentsiia Rossii v epoxu reform i revoliutsii, 1861 - fevral' 1917 g. / RAN. Otd-nie istorii. In-t ros. istorii. S.-Peterb. fil., Kaliforniiskii un-t v Berkli (SShA) i dr.; Redkol.: Potolov S.I. (otv. red.) i dr. S.-Peterburg, 1997; Mixailov N.V. Samoorganizatsiia trudovykh kolektivov i psixologiiia rossiiskix rabochix v nachale 20 v. // Rabochie i intelligentsiia Rossii v epoxu reform i revoliutsii, 1861 - fevral' 1917 g. / RAN. Otd-nie istorii. In-t ros. istorii. S.-Peterb. fil., Kaliforniiskii un-t v Berkli (SShA) i dr.; Redkol.: Potolov S.I. (ed.) i dr. S.-Peterburg, 1997 ; Mironov B.N. "Poslal Bog rabotu, da otnial chert oxotu": trudovaia etika rossiiskix rabochix v poreformennoe vremia // Sotsial'naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 1998-1999. M.: ROSSPEN, 1999.

lines, while city life triggered and developed an individualism based on liberal ideas and goals of higher living standards. The author concluded that the social class of workers in Russian Empire was distinct from the other social classes and groups of Russian society already by the Russian Revolution of 1905; nevertheless, this newly formed, capitalism-driven social class was not homogeneous, and included several groups of workers that Kir'yanov divided by level of consciousness and self-perception.

Barbara Engel's studies had a significant impact on the research of the labour history of Russia. Her focal point was the history of women and the family (as a social unit). The time period of Engel's inquiry overlaps with the current research interest; she studied precisely the years from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (starting from the sixties) to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (including the years of the First Russian Revolution). Her findings are based on meticulous archival work that she did during numerous research visits to Russia, beginning in 1985.

Engel can be related to the group of Russian researchers headed by the above-mentioned Mironov and Kir'anov. This group of Russian researchers mainly focused on the formation and growth of the industrial workers' social group at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The nodal point was the transition of the mentality of peasants to the mentality of urban industrial workers. The surveys are based on individual case studies, personal letters and diaries of workers (the great majority of whom were living in the capital). The main interest for our research topic will be the findings that shed light on the financial and economic side of workers' lives. It is clear that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century workers as a rule still had a very close bond with the village. The relationship was reciprocal: not only did the *obshina* support the workers who were entering the individualistic society of the city, but the workers on their side, after the termination of their contract, came back to the village during such important periods as harvesting and seeding. The exception was workers who left their region of origin to find job in big cities and were thus too far geographically from their village to make the return.

Although Engel's interest lies in the sociological area of the labour history, her work is very valuable for our research. Awareness of the social issues of the working class helps to better analyse the problems that impelled workers to take part in strikes, or any other social protest. In her monograph, "Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work and Family in Russia, 1861-1914"<sup>61</sup> Engel uses previously unavailable primary sources to provide a detailed account of Russian rural migration to the city. She concludes that urbanization and industrialization were more advantageous to men than to women.

In 1925, a significant study on the labour history of Russia appeared. A section of Pankratova's "Working class and working-class movement on the eve of Revolution of 1905"<sup>62</sup> was published in the volume "1905. The history of the revolutionary movement in individual essays". The salient feature of this work is the specific approach of analysis, the attempt to view the problem strictly through the lens of the proletarian class. The author found three main factors that modified the social image of the working class, as well as the type and character of the working-class movement in Russia: an extraordinarily fast growth rate in the number of workers, an intense concentration of the labour force and a certain bond of the worker with his village. Pankratova analysed statistics of strikes for 1900 and 1903. Moreover, she used not only the annual data set found in the "Collection", but also the special calculations that made corrections in the official statistics as well.

The primary works devoted to the topic of our interest are Balabanov's "Essays on the history of a working class in Russia"<sup>63</sup> and Kruze's "Position of working class of

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<sup>61</sup> Engel, Barbara, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work and Family in Russia, 1861-1914*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>62</sup> Pankratova A.M. Rabochii klass i rabochee dvizhenie nakanune revoliutsii 1905 goda // 1905. Istoriia revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v otel'nykh ocherkakh. M., 1925. Volume. I.

<sup>63</sup> Balabanov M.S. Ocherki po istorii rabocheho klassa v Rossii. M., 1926.



Russia in 1900-1914”<sup>64</sup>. These books address a wide range of questions: number and professional structure of workers, proletariat position, strike struggle (character of demands, periodization), legal organizations, struggle of "Iskra"<sup>65</sup> with “economism”<sup>66</sup>, the working-class movement, policy of the tsarist regime towards the labour question. A specific interest is in the examination of the structure of the working class, social sources of its replenishment (peasants, families of workers), loosening of the bond between factory workers and a village and “the formation of a personnel of constant workers”. In his monograph, Kruze analyses the structure, replenishment of sources and basic features of the state of the working class. Of particular value is the section on the distribution of the working class by regions - it was defined by specific regional developments in industries, transport, fields and crafts. Along with many other researchers in the field, the author comes to the conclusion that the most qualified, educated and class-conscious workers were concentrated in the metal-working branch of Russian industry.

Reginald Zelnik's “Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, and Reflections”<sup>67</sup> is another multi-author work that belongs to the same group of studies of social historians. This volume is a collaboration of the best-known American, Russian, and West European scholars in the field of the labour history of Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The work sheds light on the creation, and afterwards the development of the Russian industrial working

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<sup>64</sup> Kruze E.E. *Polozhenie rabocheho klassa Rossii v 1900-1914 gg.* Leningrad, 1976.

<sup>65</sup> Iskra is a non-legal newspaper of a Russian Social Democratic Workers Party.

<sup>66</sup> Economism is an opportunist movement of social democrats in Russia in the end of the 19 – beginning of 20 century according to a political (Leninist) definition.

<sup>67</sup> Zelnik, Reginald, *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections*, (University of California, Berkeley, 1999).

class. Its growth and development was characterized by complex dynamics, from its peasant origins in the mid-nineteenth century to the collapse of the imperial system in 1917. Reginald Zelnik, Deborah L. Pearl, S.A. Smith, Iurii Kir'ianov, Sergej I. Potolov, Gerald D. Surh, Leopold H. Haimson, Jutta Scherrer, Manfred Hildermeier, William Rosenberg, Anthony Swift, Joan Neuberger, Mark Steinberg and Hubertus Jahn analyse interrelations between workers and the intelligentsia in Russia from different angles and with the help of different approaches. One of the topics tackled is the utility of the term "working class" to an understanding of late imperial Russian society. Several of the volume's contributions shed light on this issue. They do so not in the form of abstract theoretical discussion, but by showing the varied ways in which workers interacted with other sectors of society. The studies delve into the shifting attitudes, cultural norms and standards, self-perception and self-representations of workers, which increased significantly from year to year. The most interesting aspect of this discussion is the interaction of the newly formed working class with the new social and political movements, student groups, the Church, and most significantly, the Russian political intelligentsia.

As mentioned above, the main findings pertained to the history of the 1905 Russian Revolution. And although the period defined in the above research does not overlap with that of the dissertation, those works deserved to be put on the historiographical map.

We shall begin with Reginald E. Zelnik, who stands among the most honoured and beloved members of the Russian history field. His first scholarly work, "Labour and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870"<sup>68</sup>, was researched under the difficult conditions of the early U.S.–Soviet scholarly exchange. Zelnik's second major publication trained its sights on the psychology of urban workers. Translating and editing a Soviet-era worker memoir published as "A

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<sup>68</sup> Zelnik, Reginald, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870*, (Stanford, 1971).

Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semen Kanatchikov”<sup>69</sup>, the author vividly conveyed how political loyalties were shaped by the individual experience of a single person. Zelnik's era of interest differs from ours, as his first book looked at the labour question in tsarist Russia from 1855 till 1870, and his last monograph is mainly devoted to the Revolution, but this author had a major influence on the works of other historians in the field. He was one of the founders of a scholarly group at the University of Berkeley that studied the labour history of Russia. These researchers used an approach that can be characterized as studying the process “from below”, which ran counter to the method that was popular at the time. The historians who were part of this group were mostly interested in the history of the 1905 Russian Revolution; hence, their historical findings are not directly related to the dissertation topic. However, they have contributed significantly to our knowledge of Russian history<sup>70</sup>.

Irina Pushkareva's works occupy a special place in the newest historiography of Russian labour social history. Pushkareva is the most important Russian researcher on labour history in general and on working-class movements in particular. Her work will have a place of distinction in this dissertation.

First, Pushkareva's paper, “New approaches in the study of conflicts between workers and employers in pre-revolutionary Russia foreshortened by discursive

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<sup>69</sup> Zelnik, Reginald, *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semen Kanatchikov*, (Stanford, 1986).

<sup>70</sup> See: Weinberg, Robert, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa. Blood on the steps*, (Indiana University Press, 1993); Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: A Short History*, (Stanford, 2004); Laura Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905: Working-Class Organization and Political Conflict*, (Stanford, 1982); Surh., G.D., *1905 in St. Petersburg. Labor, Society, and Revolution*, (Stanford, 1989).

methods of analysis” (2001)<sup>71</sup> will be discussed. In this article, Pushkareva tackles several important aspects of the history of the working-class movement. A great deal of attention is drawn to the low level of legal and public consciousness, and of the high degree of naive monarchism in a society at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in regards to power and sharpness of labour conflicts. Furthermore, the author explores the “non-strike” forms of the working-class movement (such as grievances, petitions and complaints) that provide necessary material for establishing the social characteristic of workers. The question of specification of conceptual framework is examined. This is a thorny problem, because historians typically use special terms in order to replicate as closely as possible the source lexicon (especially when it concerns the definition of the initial form of expression of the protest). Pushkareva concludes the paper with the notion that after the crisis in the field of labour history, its scholars recognize that without the implementation of new approaches, further development is impossible; consequently, the synthesis of quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis is critical.

Pushkareva heads a group of historians who are involved in the creation of the new collective source “*the chronicle of the working-class movement*”. In an article written by Pushkareva “the new complex of sources about working-class movement in pre-revolutionary Russia: Working-class movement in Russia. 1895-1917 the Chronicle”<sup>72</sup> she examines the features of this source.

It is clear, then, that the question of the mentality of Russian workers during the period of its formation and establishment at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the

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<sup>71</sup> Pushkareva I.M. *Novye podxody v izuchenii konfliktov rabochix i predprinimatelei v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v rakurse diskursivnykh metodov issledovaniia* // Rossiia i mir. Pamiati professora Valerii Ivanovicha Bovykina: Sb. statei. M.: ROSSPEN, 2001.

<sup>72</sup> Pushkareva I.M. “Novyi kompleks istochnikov o rabochem dvizhenii v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii: “Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895-1917 gg. Khronika. // Sotsial’naia istoriia. Ezhegodnik. 2001/2002. M., 2004.

20<sup>th</sup> century has been addressed by historians from many different angles. The results of this inquiry boil down to: the following features distinguish workers from peasants: undisguised dissatisfaction with their economic and legal status; ironical perception of their reality, weakening of religious representations and non-compliance with traditional standards of behaviour; a certain type of behaviour characterized by fiery temper; the neglect of law and disobedience of authorities; an aspiration to change the situation with the help of the organization of revolutionaries; that is, mass actions directed against businessmen and to some extent against the authorities. And still, despite shifts in views and behaviour, the mentality of the majority of workers was ensconced within what for centuries had been consecrated by religion, the Church and official ideology. A rather small group of class-conscious, socially active workers connected with socialists participated in the mass actions that were starting to develop.

However, the mentality of workers in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century should be seen for where it truly stood: at a transition point. The lower class remained in the captivity of conservative apprehension, and the "leaders" perceived, acquired and tried to be guided by the "new views" introduced by the socialist intellectuals, the representatives of the party organizations. The ones in the middle quite often hesitated, showing instability both in views and in behaviour. The revolutionary events of 1905-1907 shaped and made a very critical correction of mentality first of the middle and the lower class, not to mention a change in the ratio of layers in favour of more socially active workers. These shifts were expressed in a modification of the understanding of how to improve the state of workers' social class, a change in relations to autocratic and police orders, a shift of attitudes toward left-wing radical parties, in aspirations organize, and so on. In all of the above, a rupture with conservative perceptions and behaviours makes itself evident.

In the current dissertation, the problem of the workers' mentality is not tackled at all, since the main research interest is to analyse the pattern of strike activity of workers with the help of statistics. Although the sociological approach to the subject in terms of the relation of workers to other groups and social classes of society was not used, the

findings of the above-mentioned surveys are important for the interpretation of the results of the analysis, and the placing of the issue in a sociological context.

## 2.2. *Regional labour history: leading role of Saint Petersburg and the CIR<sup>73</sup> in strike activity versus the south of Russia.*

Only a handful of studies are directly devoted to an examination of the *regional features* of the working-class movement and the strike activity of workers at the turn of the century. Basically, the main attention of researchers was drawn to the largest and most radical manifestations of workers.

It is possible to distinguish two schools of thought in Russian regional labour history: the first focuses solely on labour conflicts and labour issues in Saint Petersburg (predominantly in the metalworking industry), considering this city to be the leader and the trigger of the Russian Revolution of 1905; the second examines exclusively the strikes in the Central Industrial Region, establishing this region to be the centre of strike activity in the country. Some work analyses the labour conflicts and regional particularities of the south of Russia, but the percentage of those is not significant and concerns solely a general strike that took place in 1903. That is to say, no surveys offer a comparative analysis of several regions together. Our work seeks to fill this gap, and to reveal the relation between the three most industrially developed regions in the Russian Empire.

The collection of documents “*General strike in the south of Russia in 1903*”<sup>74</sup> deserves separate mention. In the literature, a collection was made of the material consisting of leaflets of local social democratic committees of the south of Russia and reports of the police. Archival materials of funds of the underground literature, of the department of police, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, as well as of the fund of factory inspectors form a source basis of

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<sup>73</sup> Central Industrial Region.

<sup>74</sup> *Vseobshchaia stachka na Ĭuge Rossii v 1903g. M., 1938. Ed. D.CHugaev.*

the research. An undoubtable advantage of this work is a presentation of documents not only from the side of individual workers and organizations, but also from the side of the authorities. This helps to create an objective picture of general strikes in southern Russia in 1903.

I. V. Bortnikov's monograph, "*July 1903 in southern Russia*"<sup>75</sup> (1953) is a good example. The research relies on a wide range of published sources. It is a collection of the "*General strike in the south of Russia in 1903*"<sup>76</sup>, materials of the journal "Iskra", leaflets, memoirs, and also some non-published documents from the central and local archives. A distinctive feature of the monograph is the description of worker performance as related to revolutionary social democracy. Bortnikov ends with examples of the influence of the working-class movement on the mood and struggles of peasants, although this theme was not especially developed by the author.

In the same year, G. D. Bakulev published, "*Iron metallurgy of southern Russia*"<sup>77</sup>. The book analyses the formation and development of a basic branch of the heavy industry in the south of Russia – iron metallurgy. Metallurgy (especially in the south of the country) was the branch with the highest concentration of workers in pre-revolutionary Russia. The growth of the iron industry is considered by the author to be related to the general industrial development in the post-reform period. Bakulev's work clarifies prominent features of metal worker working and living conditions. The author examines salary fluctuations, correlating it to the cost of growth. The separate chapter is devoted to economic and political strike activity of metal workers in the south of Russia. Bakulev explores in detail the interrelation of the growth of the strike movement with the development of the Social Democratic propaganda program. Interestingly, a distinctive feature of the studies published in the end of 1930-s and the

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<sup>75</sup> Bortnikov I.V. *Iyul'skie dni 1903 g. Na Yuge Rossii*. Odessa, 1953.

<sup>76</sup> Vseobshchaia stachka na Yuge Rossii v 1903g. M., 1938. Ed. D.Chugaev.

<sup>77</sup> Bakulev G.D. *Chernaia metallurgii Yuga Rossii*. M., 1953.



beginning of 1950-s is that the authors make regular reference to the "Short course of the History of the VKPB"<sup>78</sup> positions.

Despite the scientific value of Bakulev's monograph, presenting as it does important data on metallurgy in the south of Russia and the position of metalworkers there, this study, along with others of the Soviet period, laboured under a well-known ideological influence. The author's frequent references to the "Short course of the History of the VKPB", is in our opinion not appropriate for scientific research.

In 1955, F.E. Los' monograph, *"The Formation of a working class in Ukraine and its revolutionary struggle (the end of 19<sup>th</sup> Century – 1904)"* was published<sup>79</sup>. It was one of the first pieces of post-war research in which the questions of number, professional structure, state of proletariat, his political education and struggle were discussed in any depth. The author approaches different problems in varying breadth; in his examination of the features of the working-class movement, the Revolution of 1905 is referred to quite often. Special heed is paid to the 1903 general strike in the south of the Russian Empire, and an analysis of the responses to it. The author tackles an important and very poorly studied area – the working-class movement in 1904, during the Russian-Japanese war. He notes that the general strike in the south of the country served as a rehearsal to the Revolution of 1905.

M. N. Belov pays particular attention to the processing of statistical data on strikes. Accordingly, he carries out a detailed analysis of the statistical data on the strike struggle in Kostroma province<sup>80</sup>. This same author published papers on the

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<sup>78</sup> It was the main book for historical science written by the approval of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party.

<sup>79</sup> Los' F.E. Formirovanie rabocheho klassa na Ukraine i ego revoliutsionnaia bor'ba (konets 19 stoletiiā – 1904 g.). Kiev. 1955.

<sup>80</sup> Belov M. N. Rabochee dvizhenie v Kostromskoï gubernii v 1895 – 1899 gg. Uchenye zapiski Gor'k. ped. in-ta, 1965, vyp. 50, sb. 8.

characteristics of certain stages of working class development (1895-1897, 1895-1904, 1901-1904) and some problems of the working-class movement in Central Russia at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century <sup>81</sup>. In these works, new sources were introduced and a number of interesting questions were put forward. These questions were addressed in more general articles that appeared in 70s; there, Belov continues his analysis of statistical material on the working-class movement, but includes all the territory of the Central Industrial Region in 1895-1904<sup>82</sup>. Unfortunately, there are no such general works on the other periods of history in the working-class movement of the Central Industrial Region. Of primary concern was the exploitation of the newly formed social class of Russian workers by the management of enterprises in the Central Industrial Region, and the unfair and even “inhuman” conditions in which they worked and lived. Belov sets out in detail the life of workers at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: long, exhausting labour shifts, malnutrition and unsanitary conditions. He claims that the huge profits of the textile enterprises in the Central Industrial Region were made at the expense of the health and even lives of thousands of workers employed there.

As to pre-revolutionary works on the regional features of the history of the working-class movement, it is possible to name only a series of works of the Union of Russian Social Democrats published in Geneva in 1899-1900 on the Kostroma, Tver

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<sup>81</sup> Belov M. N. Iz istorii bor'by proletariata Tšentral'noj Rossii v 1895 – 1897 gg. // Iz istorii rabocheho klassa SSSR. Ivanovo, 1964; Belov M. N. Rabochee dvizhenie v Tšentral'noj Rossii v 1898 – 1900 gg. Uchenye zapiski ĪArosl. ped. in-ta, 1966, t. 58; Belov M. N. Bor'ba proletariata Tšentral'noj Rossii v 1901-1904 gg. Uchenye zapiski ĪArosl. i Kostrom. ped. in-tov, 1968, t. 62.

<sup>82</sup> Belov M. N. Ob osobennost'ax rabocheho dvizheniia v Tšentral'noj Rossii v 1895 – 1904 gg. // Rabochie Rossii v èpoxu kapitalizma: sravnitel'nyĭ poraĭonnyĭ analiz. Rostov n/D, 1972; Belov M. N. O bor'be proletariata Tšentral'noj Rossii nakanune ruskoĭ revoliutsii (k voprosu o statistike stachek v 1895 – 1904 gg.) // Iz istorii klassovoi bor'by i naŭsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia ĪAroslavl', 1976.

provinces and Ivanovo-Voznesensk regions<sup>83</sup>. These studies have a purely descriptive character. A prominent feature of the research is an absence of analytics and lack of actual material, allowing for the examination of the working-class movement from an objective angle. Consequently, considering the chosen approach and topic, these volumes hold for us no scientific interest.

The labour movements in Ivano-Voznesensk were the main interest of Dave Pretty. In "The Saints of the Revolution: Political Activists in 1890s Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the Path of Most Resistance"<sup>84</sup> the author examines the struggles of the textile workers at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. He presents some statistical material, along with case studies. This work is a good example of literature on the labour history of a particular region.

Robert Eugene Johnson's monograph, "Peasant and Proletarian: the Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century"<sup>85</sup> reviews the state of workers in the factories of the Moscovskij Region, and the challenges that these workers faced with the development of industrialization and urbanization in the central region. Although the book offers an in-depth view of workers' lives in Moscow, it is clearly lacking a comparative analysis of the Moscovskij region with other industrial regions in the Russian Empire, along with a deeper probing of the economic aspect of the topic.

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<sup>83</sup> Polozhenie tverskix rabochix ZHeneva, 1899; Rabochee dvizhenie v Kostrome. Izdanie Soiuza russkix soŝial-demokratov. ZHeneva 1900; Rabochee dvizhenie v Ivanovo-Voznesenskom raione za poslednie 15 let. ZHeneva, 1900.

<sup>84</sup> Pretty, Dave, "The Saints of the Revolution: Political Activists in 1890s Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the Path of Most Resistance," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 276-304.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Eugene Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian: the Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (Rutgers University Press, 1979).

Among the numerous studies that consider the working-class movement in Saint Petersburg<sup>86</sup>, we would like to mention the following works. Kruze's 1961 monograph “*The Petersburg workers in 1912-1914*”<sup>87</sup> sheds light on the professional structure and state of the Saint Petersburg workers at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Important statistical and summary materials pertaining to the professional structure and number of workers of Petersburg, salaries, level of development of the industry, as well as working and living conditions of workers are laid out. The work, “*History of the workers of Leningrad. 1703-1965*”<sup>88</sup> is a multi-volume set in which the general characteristics of the Saint Petersburg workers in the considered period are presented, and the forms of strike struggle at the enterprises of Petersburg (special attention is given to metalworkers) are described.

Another worthwhile study on the labour history of Saint Petersburg is Heather Hogan's 1993 monograph, “*Forging Revolution: Metalworkers, Managers, and the State in St. Petersburg, 1890-1914*”<sup>89</sup>. The author treats the non-political aspects of metalworkers' lives in pre-revolutionary Russia, highlighting the workers' experiences and struggle, the interrelations between workers and employers, factory inspections and authorities. Chronologically speaking, the monograph culminates in the Revolution of 1905. Yet, Hogan reveals the history of the labour movement long before the Revolution and far after it, presenting the development of worker class consciousness in

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<sup>86</sup> See for example: Bonnell, Victoria, *Roots of Rebellion: Worker's Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914*, (Berkley, Los Angeles and London, 1983); Sablinsky, W., *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905*, (Princeton, 1976); Zelnik, Reginald, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870*, (Stanford, 1971); *Istoriya rabochih Leningrada*, V 2 t, T. 1., (L., 1972).

<sup>87</sup> Kruze E.E. *Peterburgskie rabochie v 1912-1914 godax* / Ed. S.N. Valk. M.- L., 1961.

<sup>88</sup> *Istoriia rabochix Leningrada. 1703-1965. T. 2. 1917-1965. L.: "Nauka", 1972.*

<sup>89</sup> Hogan, Heather, *Forging Revolution: Metalworkers, Managers, and the State in St. Petersburg, 1890-1914*, (Indiana University Press, 1993).

a dynamical perspective. As the author concludes: “I have sought to show that while a consciousness of class emerged among Petersburg metalworkers, this way a contingent phenomenon shaped especially by the interactions of workers and the radical intelligentsia, by the changing structure of the metalworking industry, and by the experiences of metalworkers in the year or so after the issuance of the October Manifesto”<sup>90</sup>.

The main feature of the surveys that target Russian regional labour history is an isolation of the analysed region from others, meaning that in much of the work, a comparison between regions and the placement of the examined region in a broader context is missing. In order to compensate for this lack of information, in the current research a comparative analysis of strike activity in those three regions will be performed. The main task will be to gauge relations between the regions in terms of strike activity, and to evaluate the hypothesis that the Saint Petersburg region was the leading one, and that the metalworkers there were the most active workers in labour conflicts in the country at the turn of the century.

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 240.

### **2.3. *Were strikes a political weapon in hands of labour parties? Political nature of strikes.***

The majority of studies on Russian labour history treat the political element of strike activity, and place at the forefront the influence of political organizations and parties. The largest group of scholars that belong to this school of knowledge maintain the pre-eminence of resource mobilization theory, which claims that the grievances of workers are more or less constant, while strike activity is primarily triggered by a capacity to organize with the help of political agitation and propaganda of labour parties. Some researchers adhere to political-exchange theory, which states that workers will strike until the labour party starts being in charge of the country's political arena.

Pride of place in the context of an analysis of the working-class movement with a consideration of the influence of political agitation and propaganda is taken by Vladimir Lenin. Lenin wrote quite a few essays on the subject of the labour and liberation movement. In a number of them, he stressed the importance of analysing the influence of various social, economic and political factors on the dynamics of the development of the working-class movement<sup>91</sup>. Lenin's monographs detail the complexity of the structure of social objects and the presence of transitive types of these objects<sup>92</sup>. His usage of statistical materials and his ability to interpret and analyse statistical material in political context marks the beginning of a new era in Russian history. This era is known as one that is strongly politicized.

One of the main general works in which the problems of the strike movements at the turn of century is studied, and the actual material on this topic is well presented, is the large corpus "*The history of working class in Russia from its origin to the beginning*

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<sup>91</sup> Lenin V.I. Poln. Sobr. Soch. T. 41. S. 8-9. See: T.21. S. 38-39; T. 26. S. 343.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., T. 41, p. 8.

*of the 20th Century*”<sup>93</sup>. On the basis of extensive contemporary records, the pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature regarding the history of origin of the working class and working-class movement development in Russia from 17<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century is analysed in this book. Unfortunately, although the work is full of valuable information, we cannot overlook that there are some ideologically tendentious statements and conclusions, which is very common for studies published at that time.

The general works on the history of the working class, labour and strike movements of Russia at the end 19<sup>th</sup> - beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century that use a descriptive method of analysis, belong to the third school of knowledge in our historiographical division of works. Those surveys were published during the Soviet period under ideological and academic pressure from the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. It would not be amiss to explain here that because of certain restraints and restrictions in the academic environment during the Soviet era, it was absolutely impossible to publish a piece of work that ran counter to, or even deviated slightly from, the “truth” as established by the labour party: the Russian Revolution took place only because and solely thanks to the Bolshevik Party; the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party made the workers free and happy. Hence, the literature of this period has a common feature: constant reference is made to positions set out in the “Short course of History of VKPB”, and throughout the text, state “truths” as defined by leading labour parties. The major books in this group are: “Brief History of the Russian proletarian class.”<sup>94</sup>, “History of Russian proletarian class. Years 1861-1900”<sup>95</sup>, “Labour movement in Russian in 1900-1904”<sup>96</sup>, “Striking movement of Russian workers”<sup>97</sup>. These studies can

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<sup>93</sup> Rabochii klass Rossii ot zarozhdeniia do nachala 20 veka. M., 1989.

<sup>94</sup> Kratkaia istoriia rabocheho klassa v Rossii. M., 1962.

<sup>95</sup> Istoriia rabocheho klassa Rossii. 1861 – 1900 gg. M., 1972.

<sup>96</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v 1901 – 1904 gg. L., 1975.

also be characterized by an absence of the application of quantitative methods for analysing statistical data, and a certain narrow approach.

The scholars who belong to the third school of thought, besides focusing on the political element of the labour movement, share another feature: they do not examine labour conflicts detached from the 1905 Revolution. Revolution always is the axis of their work.

Like the current thesis, Kiryanov's topic is the history of a working-class movement on the eve of the 1905 Russian Revolution<sup>98</sup>. In this study, he examines the scope and main features of various forms worker struggle, that is, strikes, demonstrations, and meetings that are analysed on the basis of extensive sources (party documents, illegal press publications, materials of factory inspection, memoirs of participants of working-class movement, and so on). An interesting chapter for our research is the one that examines the growth of class consciousness and worker organization that resulted from their struggle and the politicization of mass working-class movement. Kiryanov maintains that at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, from 1900 until 1904 to be more precise, the workers' struggle transformed from economic to political.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to find English-language studies that directly treat the labour history of the Russian Empire before the first Russian Revolution. The majority of the existing research focuses on the period of Russian Revolution of 1905; hence, the periodization of the work does not overlap with the field of interest of this dissertation. However, although the Revolution is not the topic of the dissertation, an analysis of the historical background and a general examination of the period might be helpful for this

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<sup>97</sup> Stachechnoe dvizhenie rabochih Rossii. M., 1986. T. 1-2.

<sup>98</sup> Kir'ianov I.A.I. Perexod k massovoï politicheskoi bor'be. Rabochii klass nakanune pervoi russkoï revoliutsii. M., 1987.



research. We will zero in on the scholars who are of significant importance for labour history, and whose research most closely approaches this dissertation's research topic.

Of the non-Russian language monographs that are related to the third school of thought, we will offer a brief overview to several groups of scholars. Mainly, historians were drawn to the first Russian Revolution and the political side of the historical development of the Empire.

In this respect we introduce one of the major historians specializing in the history of Russia, and especially on the phenomenon of revolution – Steven A. Smith<sup>99</sup>. His field of interest and inquiries are not directly related to the dissertation research topic, but Smith's contribution to the labour history of Russia cannot be overstated. One of his most interesting and original studies is a monograph published in 2008 entitled “Revolution and the People in Russia and China: A Comparative History”. This work examines in depth the labour history of China and Russia. A comparative analysis of the roots of Communist revolution in Russia and China is carried out. The author analyses the transitions in social identities of peasants who settled in Saint Petersburg from the 1880s to 1917 and in Shanghai from the 1900s to the 1940s. Smith has written other books on the history of the Russian Revolution: “The Russian Revolution: A Very Short Introduction”<sup>100</sup>, “Oktiabr'skaia Revoliutsiia i Fabzavkomy”<sup>101</sup>, “Red Petrograd:

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<sup>99</sup> Steven A. Smith, *Revolution and the People in Russia and China: A Comparative History*, (Cambridge University Press, 2008);

<sup>100</sup> Steven A. Smith, *The Russian Revolution: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>101</sup> Steven A. Smith, *Oktiabr'skaia Revoliutsiia i Fabzavkomy*, (Millwood, New York, Kraus International Publications, 1983).

Revolution in the Factories, 1917-18”<sup>102</sup>. Unfortunately, even a brief description of those books is beyond the scope of this study.

It is necessary at least briefly to mention the study of famous gender historian Michelle Perrot “Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890”<sup>103</sup> that considerably contributed to the social history of France. An admirable work had been done in searching national and regional archives, collecting data and identifying the description of strikes. The author devoted her survey to the analysis of strike as social phenomenon and discourse establishing the origin and nature of workers discontent throughout two decades of struggle after the rupture of Paris Commune.

Charles Tilly is another researcher whose work had a significant impact on the development of the history of strike movements. Tilly analysed the strike movement in France between 1830 and 1968<sup>104</sup>. Although the periodization and regional framework differ from our research interest, Tilly’s approach to the subject is both valuable and forward-thinking. He implemented new methods of data analysis in his research, and the influence that this has had on the field calls for at least a few lines.

Tilly’s 1974 “Strikes in France” was a watershed in the study of labour history in general and of labour conflicts in particular. History moved from being “sociologized” to “social.” The work was published during a peak of interest of non-Russian researchers to the problems of labour conflicts.

Unlike historians who took the traditional generalizing and averaging approach, Tilly examined the features of each labour conflict, without attempting to deduce any

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<sup>102</sup> Steven A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-18*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>103</sup> Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), two volumes.

<sup>104</sup> Tilly Ch., Shorter Ed., (eds) *Strikes in France. 1830-1968*. Cambridge. 1974.

average or general component. The information on each conflict was entered into a database with standardized information fields. Thus, the data on these thousands of strikes were formalized so that they would be available for computerized processing. We shall stress here that in this approach to data processing, each labour conflict presented in the source was analysed and taken into consideration.

Tilly's study allowed for the determination of the identity of each strike. His research confirms that strikes were a political weapon wielded by French workers struggling for the reception of their rights in the nation-state. The political nature of strike movements is revealed by means of analysing the interrelation and distribution of strike "waves" over the period of political crisis, and by utilizing data on state intervention in relation to workers and employers. Contrasting Michelle Perrot who draws the attention to the liberating aspect of workers' movement<sup>105</sup>, Charles Tilly on the contrary explains the intensity and number of occurred strikes using such variables as skill, level of literacy, urbanization and political identity<sup>106</sup>.

In the current research, we will challenge the main findings of this school of thought, and show that workers in pre-revolutionary Russia were mainly concerned about money; indeed, they did not have well-defined political ambitions as a newly formed proletarian class of society. It is difficult (if not impossible) to determine the role of political agitation and propaganda on the strike activity of workers at that time due to the fact that this kind of activity was illegal, and thus only an accidental part was actually documented.

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<sup>105</sup> Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), p. 144.

<sup>106</sup> Tilly Ch., Shorter Ed., (eds) *Strikes in France. 1830-1968*. Cambridge. 1974, p. 392.

#### ***2.4. Influence of financial and economic conjuncture: business-cycle and economic-hardship theories.***

The introductory part of this paper discussed the main interest of our dissertation, which is the statistical analysis of strike-activity data in pre-revolutionary Russia. Consequently, the bulk of attention will be drawn to those studies in which statistical methods of analysis are implemented. Although there are very few studies that are directly related to our topic and period, those that exist are crucial due to their methods and approaches of statistical analysis.

Three Russian historians - Bovykin, Borodkin and Kiryanov - constitute the core of the group of writers on the history of the working-class movement that makes use of mathematical and computer analyses of the data. These researchers published an analysis of the dynamics of strike movements across the whole territory of Russia in 1895 – 1913<sup>107</sup>. The analysis employed methods of statistical analysis (calculation of factors of pair correlation) and was based on factory inspection data of the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry. The correlation analysis is used for an examination of the interrelation of the basic indicators (i.e., number of strikes, number of strikers, quantity of economic and political strikes et cetera) in strike movements in Russia during two periods: wide – 1895-1913 and narrow – 1895-1904 (“pre-revolutionary decade”). The authors' concluded that in Russia during the considered period, no rigid correlation between the development of strike movements and the changes in an economic conjuncture as well as in the financial position of workers could be determined.

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<sup>107</sup> V.I. Bovykin, L.I. Borodkin, and Y.I. Kiryanov, *The strike movement in Russia, 1895-1913, its structure and links with industrial development and changes in the economic position of the proletariat (an experiment in correlation analysis)*, Istoriya SSSR (1986), no. 3, 68–80 (english).

The above-noted paper is closely connected with the previous study. In this article, the authors also perform a quantitative analysis of the development of working-class movement in Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By means of a correlation analysis, the role of various social, economic and political factors in the process of the expansion and deepening of the working-class movement in Russia between the years 1895 and 1904 in 12 branches of factory industries is explored. The basic sources in this research are materials of factory statistics. A correlation analysis was done of the major characteristics of the labour movement, as well as strikes and other forms of the social protest (e.g., demonstration, arson). Among the conclusions of this research, we shall note the following: first, although it is possible to observe a certain consistency of economic demands, mostly concerning salary and working hours, there was considerable inconsistency in the grievances of workers in the majority of the 12 branches of factory industries; and second, regarding the strike movement between 1895 – 1904, along with business factors (industrial conjuncture, nominal salary) an increasing influence began to be rendered by political factors (e.g., activity of party organizations, release of leaflets).

Professor Leonid Borodkin takes pride of place among all researchers in the field. Borodkin represents the new generation of Russian historical scholarship, which aims for an open-minded, objective, interdisciplinary approach to historical issues. He has been working at Lomonosov Moscow State University since 1979, and has published 320 articles, 24 books and 47 reports. Borodkin is particularly interested in Russian labour history, economic and financial history, social history and advanced statistical methods for data analysis. This author's work on wages of workers in pre-revolutionary period in Russian Empire and the dynamics of strike activity<sup>108</sup> in different branches of

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<sup>108</sup> Borodkin L.I., 'Kvantitativnye issledovaniia stachechnogo dvizheniia i faktorov ego razvitiia v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii' // Rossiia na rubezhe 19-20 vekov. Materialy nauchnykh chtenii, (M., 1999);

Russian industry is of particular value to the field of economic history and to the current dissertation. In an article on the inequality of wages of workers of different qualifications<sup>109</sup>, Borodkin comes to an important conclusion: using data on construction workers in Petersburg, the author demonstrates that the level of inequality in wages of workers of higher and lower qualification was much higher for Russian workers as compared to workers in Western countries during the industrial revolution.

In 2012, Borodkin published a paper on strike activity that shed new light on Russian labour history. The paper is entitled, "The structure and dynamics of the workers' protest movement at the beginning of the 20th century in Russia: Database analysis. In: Striking Numbers: New approaches to quantitative strike research."<sup>110</sup> The article is based on the new database available for the historians in the field "Chronicle of the working-class movement"<sup>111</sup> and deals with four main issues: 1) dynamics of four different types of labour conflicts; 2) monthly strike dynamics; 3) actions of local authorities and factory management during strikes; 4) characteristics of strike activity during different phases of the business cycle. Borodkin found that strikes were the main type of labour conflict in pre-revolutionary Russia; during the summer (July), a peak in strike activity was observed. That during summer workers who had tight connections

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Borodkin L.I., 'Volny stachechnogo dvizheniia v Rossii kontsa 19 – nachala 20 vv.: o roli informatsionnykh faktorov' // *Rabochie v Rossii: istoricheskiĭ opyt i sovremennoe polozhenie*, (URSS, 2004).

<sup>109</sup> Borodkin L.I., *Neravenstvo dokhodov v period industrial'noi revoliutsii. Universal'na li gipoteza o "krivoĭ Kuznetsa"?*, Rossiia i mir. Pamiati professora Valerii Ivanovicha Bovykina: Sb. stateĭ, ROSSPEN Moskva, 2001, pp. 331–355.

<sup>110</sup> Borodkin L.I., *The structure and dynamics of the workers' protest movement at the beginning of the 20th century in Russia: Database analysis. in: Striking numbers: New approaches to quantitative strike research*, IISH-Research Paper (2012), no. 50, p. 71–98 .

<sup>111</sup> The author of current dissertation participated on the initial stages of the development of the database.

with the village left the factories for field work might help to explain this finding. Local authorities, Borodkin determined, typically resorted to calling in army and police units to suppress the conflicts.

In the 1980s, western historians Haimson and Brian conducted research on labour movements in Russia during the First World War. Although this work engages with a different historical period of labour movements, it is still of great interest for our dissertation. The reason lies in the study's application of mathematical and statistical methods of data analysis. On the basis of Russian archival materials, the authors, by means of quantitative analysis, determine three waves of strike movements during the defined period: 1905 – 1907, 1912 – 1914 and 1915 – 1917. As a result of the analysis of specific features and the basic characteristics of three "waves of strikes" enumerated by the authors, they conclude that the three waves have three common features:

- Growth in intensity of labour conflicts;
- Sharp increase of specific types of strikes, especially political strikes;
- Presence of statistically significant interrelations between intensity of political strikes and two objective characteristics of groups of workers involved in them: concentration of these workers in city areas, and higher-than-average salary level.

This research analyses the influence of opportunistic factors on the dynamics of the development of labour movements. The authors concluded that short-term factors of an opportunistic nature explain a good deal of the variation in the character and intensity of workers' movements.

As we consider the application of new methods in research on the working-class movement and analyses of sources, a study conducted by American scholars Diane Koenker and William Rosenberg comes to the fore. Although the authors defined different timeframes for their research than the present study (they focused on the year 1917); the instruments that they used for the analysis of data are of interest for our

research. For capturing the specificity of strike movements in 1917, the authors applied computer processing to a massive amount of strike data. Importantly for our purposes, Koenker and Rosenberg systematically examined the number of strikers by region, as well as classified worker demands by category.

In the context of the fourth school of thought in the field, it would be a mistake not to mention Roberto Franzosi, who studied strikes in post-war Italy, and in 1995 published a book entitled, "The Puzzle of Strikes."<sup>112</sup> Although Franzosi investigates strikes in Italy, and his timeframe is very different from ours, the work offers various methods and approaches that could be used in statistical analysis of striking activity in Russia.

Franzosi equally pays attention to workers, employers, and state structures. In order to carry out a comprehensive analysis of strikes, the author entered a set of independent variables. This method ensured that he would not miss any factor that influenced the historical development of strikes.

Franzosi arrived at a novel conclusion. If Charles Tilly demonstrated the inadequacy of almost all the theories he addressed, Roberto Franzosi, on the contrary, asserted that "each of theories considered in the book helps to explain the time structure of strikes in post-war Italy". Thus, each of the theories "works", but only concerning one of the fragments that form this puzzle of strikes.

The main hypothesis that has been put forward by the fourth school of thought in the field concerns the correlation between economic and financial conjuncture and strike activity of workers. The bulk of historians in this school (Borodkin, Kiryanov, Haimson, Brian) claim that there is no such correlation, so the business-cycle theory as well as the economic-hardship theory are considered to be irrelevant. Borodkin and

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<sup>112</sup> Roberto Franzosi. *The Puzzle of Strikes. Class and State Strategies in Postwar Italy*. Cambridge. 1995.



Kiryanov did find that political agitation and propaganda significantly influenced the intensity of labour conflicts in Russia.

## 2.5. *Conclusions*

A survey of the literature that was at least to some extent related to the labour and strike movements in Russia at the turn of the century informs us of a marked absence of mass statistical sources, as well as a weak implementation of quantitative methods and computer analysis. By way of contrast, descriptive approaches, some as tendentious as typical Soviet-era works, dominate the literature.

Once again we shall note that since the 1990s, work on the strike and labour movements in pre-revolutionary Russia based on mass statistical data on strikes began to appear. Of course, the application of mathematical and computer methods of analysis of this statistical data does not prevent us from carrying out a microanalysis of concrete strikes and manifestations (case studies). The combination of these different (micro- and macro-level analyses) but at the same time complementary techniques can yield a fuller sense of Russian labour history in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

We may divide the relevant literature into four main schools of thought:

1. *Mindset of workers: who were the workers? Sociological approach.* In terms of the first group of studies, workers in Russian Empire at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century still had a peasant mindset, and the majority of them had very strong ties to a village. The proletarian social class had not yet formed as a unit representing common political, economic and social interests. Nevertheless, research has looked at workers in the textile and metalworking industries. Metalworkers have been always portrayed as leaders of strike activity in the country. The hypothesis of this school of thought that can be tested in the current research is the leading position of metalworkers in comparison with textile workers.

2. *Regional labour history: leading role of Saint Petersburg and the CIR<sup>113</sup> in strike activity versus the south of Russia.* The second school of thought includes the

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<sup>113</sup> Central Industrial Region.

surveys devoted to certain industrial regions of the Russian Empire. The majority of these studies are focused on metalworkers in Saint Petersburg, due to the fact that the 1905 Revolution occurred there, and historically this city was considered to be a vanguard of the labour movement in Russia. The second group of regional studies draws attention to the Central Industrial Region and the strike activity there. Some work looks at labour conflicts and workers during the general strike of year 1903 in Left Bank Ukraine. There is a glaring dearth of comparison between the regions, as well as consideration of the examined region in its context. This school of thought offers the challenging task of comparing strike activity in the three most developed industrial regions of the Russian Empire: Saint Petersburg, the Central Industrial Region and Left Bank Ukraine. The hypothesis that Saint Petersburg is the leader will be tested. The third chapter of the current dissertation is designated for this task.

3. *Strikes were a political weapon in the hands of labour parties. Political nature of strikes.* The largest corpus of literature on Russian labour history addresses the political aspect of workers' strike. The prevailing theory is the perception of strikes as a political phenomenon. This theory is the oldest and most popular among Russian scholars in the field of Russian labour history. In western literature, this school is very popular as well. However, if the objects of concern are strikes in France (Shorter) or Italy (Tilly), then the mechanisms and the processes of strike activity turn out to be very different from the Russian ones. Hence, we cannot legitimately generalize the data on the western workers' struggle to the Russian reality. The adherents of this school believe that strikes were triggered by agitation and propaganda, and that workers 'demands were in great measure of a political character. Another theory to test is the role of the political element on the labour movement. While it is impossible to perform a detailed analysis of this issue, it is quite possible to establish whether or not political propaganda and agitation influenced workers' struggles. In the fourth chapter of the current survey, these hypotheses will be tested with the help of statistical methods.

4. *Influence of financial and economic conjuncture: business-cycle and economic-hardship theories.* Special attention is paid to two main economic hypotheses: business-

cycle theory and economic-hardship theory. Both theories maintain that workers strike more during times of economic crisis, when the state of the labour market modifies the bargaining position of workers in relation to employers, and influences their propensity to strike when their grievance level is relatively high. Economic historians studying labour history tend to test these theories and to explore the behaviour of workers during economic crises. Thus, our goal will be to test the theory that was confirmed by historians who share the third school of thought: to establish whether or not the economic conjunction had a significant impact on the intensity and development of strike activity in the Russian Empire at the turn of the century; and, if it had an impact, was it a positive or a negative one in terms of the influence on the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia.

In this paragraph, the main conclusions of the historiographical part of this paper will be discussed. The voluminous amount of historical information on the working-class movement in Russia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century highlights the role that was played by this movement in the history of Russia in the specified period. Both Russian and non-Russian researchers have done a great deal of work on the history of workers and strike movements in the industrial development of Russia at the turn of the century. At the same time, regional features and the particularities of different branches of industry did not receive appropriate statistical analysis due to a certain narrowness of approach and methods in working with mass sources in the historiography of labour history. The bulk of Russian historiography in the field of history of working-class movement was created mainly in the Soviet period and was based on aggregated, consolidated data on strikes. Unfortunately, the study of these problematic issues during the Soviet period was under the influence of a well-known ideological framework. Thus, in spite of the fact at that time labour history was considered top-priority in historical science, the history of labour movements was examined with what might be described as a lop-sided view, with an accent on radical forms of the struggle of the proletariat with employers.



### ***Chapter III. Historical Context.***

As mentioned in the introductory part of the paper, we strongly believe that a comprehensive presentation of the research topic demands that the topic be placed within a historical context. Consequently, further we will discuss the historical background and, legislative issues on labour, and provide an overview of the characteristics of the working class in pre-revolutionary Russia. As the main topic of the research concerns strikes, and the period is delimited to the last decade just prior to the 1905 Revolution, we shall outline the main milestones in the workers' movements as well.

#### ***3.1. Historical background***

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no Russian factory made use of only a single type of labour. Instead, the labour pool was mixed, and a given factory would employ both hired and serf (forced) labour. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, hired labour came to be the norm. Forced labour was supplanted by hired labour because of needs related to industrial productivity. Meanwhile, the factories that continued to rely on cheap serf labour had no impetus to introduce mechanical production, and the dependent workers had no interest in developing their professional skills.

The reform of 1861, an essential step in the formation of a free labour market, heralded a new epoch in Russian history. Nonetheless, vestiges of pre-reform relations riddled the economic and social spheres throughout the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The social security of workers was organized in such a manner that workers had no right to demand any form of compensation: everything depended on the good will of the enterprise owner. The considerable number of establishments created for rendering

assistance to injured workers existed at the expense of charitable donations, and these hardly guaranteed stability of provision.

Up until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the state delegated to the employer all decision-making powers on labour questions. State orders during this period were in the main optional, rather than binding in character. Laws were not written in such a way as to set out their implementation. As a result, numerous interpretations were published, which further complicated the situation. Laws were implemented on a province-by-province basis, and it could take decades before a law made its way throughout the country.

Regarding laws pertaining to factory inspections, the state functioned as a kind of trustee. Further, with the growth of conflicts in the labour environment, many governmental actions had an administrative-enforcement character.

Two phenomena that emerged in quick succession strongly impacted on the labour history of Russia at the considered period. Russia was the last of the major European powers to move from an agrarian to an industrial economy, and the last to witness the appearance of an independent mass organized labour movement. The country's industrial 'take-off' is generally dated from the 1890s; the first mass-based trade unions and other workers' organizations arose during the 1905 revolution. However, many circumstances influenced the postponement of industrialization and delay of the organization of labour in Imperial Russia. An important example is the overriding preoccupation of the government with social stability and social control. Its attempt to carry out a capitalist industrialization within an antiquated framework of pre-modern social, political and cultural institutions created profound conflicts in the sphere of industrial relations. These circumstances help to account for the trajectory of the workers' movement in Imperial Russia during its brief but decisive period of development between 1905 and 1914.

While looking at the Russian pattern of industrialization at the turn of the century, three distinctive features can be discerned. First, industrial development occurred far more rapidly in Russia than in other industrializing countries of Europe, and there was a marked telescoping of stages which elsewhere had taken decades to complete. Second, the Russian pattern of capitalist industrialization was distinguished by the dominant role played by the state in initiating and guiding industrial progress, and the correspondingly weak position of entrepreneurial groups. Finally, the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy began within a political framework that inhibited the development of voluntary associations prior to 1905. Indeed, despite the beginnings symbolized by the reforms of the 1860s, it is not possible to speak of a true emergence of civil society until after the First Russian Revolution, when constitutional reforms (e.g., the October Manifesto) granted basic, albeit limited rights for citizenship for the first time in Russian history.

These features of the Russian historical context had direct bearing on the development of the labour movement. The exceptionally rapid pace of industrial development was made possible, in part, by the widespread introduction of machinery imported from advanced industrial nations of western Europe, particularly England and Germany. The use of imported machinery, among other factors, resulted in a high degree of labour concentration in Imperial Russia: regionally (e.g., the Saint Petersburg and Moscow regions, the Urals, the Don Basin and so on), within cities (e.g., districts such as Vyborg in Saint Petersburg and Presnensk in Moscow), and within enterprises. Approximately one out of three factory workers in the country's two leading cities, Saint Petersburg and Moscow, could be found in an enterprise with more than one thousand workers around the turn of the century; one-half laboured in firms with one hundred to one thousand workers. Concentration per enterprise was higher in Russia at this time than in any of the more industrially advanced countries.

Moreover, the state's extensive involvement in the industrialization process had far-reaching effects on working-class groups. Government authorities displayed a profound preoccupation with the maintenance of social stability, and they enacted



measures designed to preserve intact much of the country's pre-industrial social structure while simultaneously encouraging industrial change. Although peasants migrated to cities and factory centres to provide labour for the new industrial economy, government policy (prior to 1906) served to perpetuate workers' ties with the countryside. The impermanence and semi-peasant character of much of the industrial labour force stands out as one of the distinctive features of Imperial Russia at the turn of the century.

### ***3.2. Main interpretations of Russian industrialization.***

We decided to include a paragraph presenting a brief overview of the main interpretations of Russian modernization and economic development in our period of study, which was a very significant transitional period in the history of the Russian economy.

Russian modernization is of longstanding interest to western scholars. Chief among these are: A. Geršenkron, architect of the theory of “stages of economic backwardness”; Rostow, author of the theory of the stages of economic growth; Black, famous agricultural historian and one of the main espousers of the theory of modernization; Shanin, who developed a theory of dependency development; and P. R. Paul Gregory, renowned expert on Russian economic history.

In line with other experts in the field, Geršenkrona<sup>114</sup> and R. W. Goldsmith<sup>115</sup> reported high rates of industrial development in Russia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The industrial production series that was devised by Goldsmith confirms Geršenkrona's conclusions that a spurt in industrial production occurred in the mid-80s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as that Russia's industrial growth rate surpassed corresponding figures in industrially advanced countries during their industrial revolutions<sup>116</sup>. Milward and Soule wrote that “since 1990, the Russian industrial growth was the fastest in

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<sup>114</sup> Gerschenkron A. *The rate of industrial growth in Russia since 1885* // The Journal of Economic History. 1957. Vol. 7. P. 144-174.

<sup>115</sup> Goldsmith. R.W. *The economy growth of tsarist Russia 1860—1913* // Economic Development and Cultural Change. 1961. № 3. P. 441—475.

<sup>116</sup> Gregory P.R. *Russian industrialization and economic growth: Results and perspectives of western research* // Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas. 1977. Bd. 25. H. 2. p. 203

Europe”<sup>117</sup>. However, of this group, only Rostow believed that Russia in the years 1890-1914 passed the take-off phase prior to the stage of self-sustained growth that was typical.

Geršenkron's, Rostow's and Black's notions of Russian industrial development as a type of “catch-up” in the Pan-European process of modernization have constituted the methodological basis for western historians' work on the history of Russia up until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Gregory and Geršenkrona diverge primarily in their respective approach towards the question of Russian agriculture. Gregory holds that the performance of Russian agriculture (and the village standard of living) was much higher than Geršenkron estimated.

A. Kahan maintains that Russia suffered from less of an industrial lag as compared to other industrialized countries than it did in other areas<sup>118</sup>. However, he asserted that developments in the Russian economy from 1890-1913 were not sufficient to transform it from a predominantly agrarian to industrial country<sup>119</sup>. W. L. Blackwell located in the years 1800-1860 the basis for the Russian industrial “take-off”<sup>120</sup>. Assessing the results of its industrial development by 1914, he pointed to the incompleteness of the industrialization. According to Blackwell, “Russian capitalism only began to ripen”<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>117</sup> Milward A.S., Saul S.B. The development of the economics of continental Europe 1850. 1914. L., 1977. P. 424.

<sup>118</sup> Kahan A. *Capital formation during the period of early industrialization in Russia, 1890—1813* // The Cambridge economic history of Europe. Vol. 2, Part 2. Cambridge; L; N.Y, 1978. P. 289.

<sup>119</sup> Ibidem. P. 265.

<sup>120</sup> Blackwell W.L. *The Beginnings of Russian industrialization 1800— 1860*. N.Y.

<sup>121</sup> Blackwell, William L., *The Industrialization of Russia: An Historical Perspective*, (Arlington Heights, Illinois, 1982). P. 98.

Shanin's work was shaped by the theory of underdevelopment, dependency and dependent development. This theory was the subject of sharp criticism, and became the basis of the classical theories of modernization; that is, that developing countries must repeat the path followed in the past by Western Europe and North America, albeit at an accelerated rate.

In this connection, a survey of great interest was done by German historian Haumann, entitled "Capitalism in the Royal State 1906-1917. Organizational forms, the balance of powers, the balance of progress in the process of industrialization"<sup>122</sup>. Haumann highlighted the impact on the development of capitalism in tsarist Russia, the political domination of the nobility-landowners, who embodied the remnants of serfdom in the economic and social structure. In Russia, along with a highly developed form of capitalism, there co-existed pre-monopoly forms of the production of consumer goods, early and pre-capitalist forms in the small-scale agricultural industry, all of which were closely inter-related. The author concluded that to assert that this represented standard capitalism would be simplistic, because such a description takes into account neither the complexity of the social system nor the complexity of the Russian historical process<sup>123</sup>.

Haumann described Russian capitalism as "disabled" (*verkrüppelter Kapitalismus*) in light of its state-capitalist elements<sup>124</sup>. This is a fairly apt image. After all, Russian capitalism was doubly deformed: by the accelerating influence of external factors, as well as by the delaying pressure of internal ones. Nevertheless, we cannot rest on the bare fact of its distortion ("maiming"). We are obliged to understand the nature and extent of this reality.

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<sup>122</sup> Haumann H. *Kapitalismus im zaristischen Staat 1906—1917: Organisationsformen, Machtverhältnisse und Leistungsbilanz in Industrialisierungsprozess*. Königstein, 1980.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Gregory treated this issue in a highly acclaimed study on the evolution of the Russian national income between the years 1885-1913. While the author confirmed the common notions that the Russian economy was driven by agriculture, and also that there existed a sharp disparity between it and other capitalist countries in terms of the absolute size of the national income per capita, many of his findings are far less trivial than these. In fact, Gregory's findings are so pivotal to a proper understanding of the Russian economy in its transitional stage that it was decided to enumerate some of them below:

1. Previous studies of Russian national income underestimated the growth rate of the tsarist Russia economy. The annual growth rate in the period of the Russian "industrialization era" (1885-1913) was about 3.25% (net national product) and 1.7% (net national product per capita). These data differ from earlier estimations made by Goldsmith, according to whom the growth rate was about 2.7% (GDP) and 1.25% (GDP per capita) for the same period.

2. The growth rates of the Imperial economy were relatively high in terms of international standards of the late 19<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Russia belonged to the group of countries with the fastest-growing economies, as did the United States, Japan and Sweden.

3. The economic growth and structural change of the Imperial economy in the years 1885-1913 match the pattern of modern economic growth that was experienced by industrially developed countries. Thus, Gregory concluded that Russia ushered in the era of modern economic growth in the period from 1885 to 1913. This process was interrupted in 1914 because of the outbreak of the First World War.

4. Geršenkron's assessment of Russia's economic development as "Asian" in nature is only partially apt. Imperial Russia started and completed its era of industrialization with relatively high levels of investment and government payments, and, for a low-income country, a low level of private consumption. This situation is in line with Geršenkron's claim of relative backwardness.

However, a relatively high proportion of investment could not be explained by direct government intervention (as in the case of Japan). Hence, the means and mechanisms by which Russia reached such a high level of investment at an early stage of economic development have yet to be determined. Geršenkron's argument that Russian peasants were forced to "pay" for the high rate of investment in the economy, as well as his negative assessment of the performance of Russian agriculture have not been confirmed by Gregory's work<sup>125</sup>.

5. The tsarist economy was well integrated into the world economy, and fluctuations in price and production levels were largely dictated by external factors. Domestic price levels followed the trends in the world market, and the fluctuations in investments and the volume of gross production was consistent (obviously with some lag) with global investment and production cycles. The real distinguishing feature for Russia was the adverse effects of the 1905 revolution, which was the reason that the Russian economic cycle got out of sync with that of the global economy<sup>126</sup>.

Of the most recent studies regarding the economic development of Russia in and around the pre-revolutionary period, we shall mention the work of Russian economic historians Markevich and Harrison entitled, "Great War, Civil War, and Recovery: Russia's National Income, 1913 to 1928". This research aimed to fill the last remaining gap in this part of the field, and reconstruct the Russian real national income from 1913 to 1928. In comparison with the interpretations of other researchers, in the

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<sup>125</sup> Gregory P.R. *Russian industrialization and economic growth: Results and perspectives of western research* // *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas*. 1977, p. 144.

<sup>126</sup> Gregory P.R. *Russian national income, 1885—1913*. Cambridge; L.; N.Y., 1982. P. 192—194.

above-mentioned work the authors offer a relatively positive assessment of how the mobilization of the Russian economy was carried out during the years of World War I. Conversely, their view of the economic accident of the Civil War period is more negative. Their calculations show that by 1928, the economic recovery measured by the indicator of national income per capita was most likely incomplete. From the available data, they also draw negative conclusions about the quality of economic institutions and economic policy of the USSR for the 1920s, as well as about achievements in the Soviet economy in the 1930s<sup>127</sup>.

So, it is possible to sum up as follows. Russia entered a stage of "modern economic growth" in the mid-1880s. The structural changes taking place in Russia's economy (by ratio of agriculture, industry, services, and national income) for the next 30 years are quite comparable to the experiences of other countries during their periods of "modern economic growth". In these 30 years, the Russian economy transformed from agrarian to agrarian-industrial on the basis of the dynamic market model of development. The specific features of the Russian development consisted of a rather high share of agriculture and a low share of industry in the economic structure. Unlike the cases of Japan, Great Britain, Italy, the United States and Canada, in Russia agriculture only gradually lost its centrality. Researchers unanimously note as particular Russian characteristics, technological backwardness, high population growth rates and the relative backwardness of agriculture. These features resulted in rather low indicators of income per capita in comparison to the leading industrial powers. Nevertheless, the general economic development of Russia was interpreted as a specific type of modernization.

### ***3.3.Economic Development in the Russian Empire***

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<sup>127</sup> Markevich A., Harrison M. Great War, Civil War, and Recovery: Russia's National Income, 1913 to 1928 // *Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 71. No. 3. P. 672–703.

We shall turn to a brief examination of economic development in the Russian Empire at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the framework of the chapter of historical context. Since space issues preclude an in-depth discussion of the economic particularities and specific features of the Russian economy at this time, we shall only note the main indicators and key points.

As was determined previously, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia had begun the process of catching up with the most highly developed country in Europe – Britain. While we note a rapid growth rate of industrial output, it is important to keep in mind that not all backward countries achieved such phenomenal industrial growth. Many relatively poor countries, mostly in the south of Europe, showed unimpressive rates of industrial growth. For instance, after 1870, a rapid industrial growth in Russia can be observed, but it was starting from a tremendously low level of industrialization. Table 1 below shows that regardless of the above-mentioned exceptionally rapid industrial growth after 1870, by the year 1905 on a per capita basis Russia had still reached only 26 % of the UK level of industrialization. That Russia took such a low position in comparison with other western countries in per capita terms can be explained by its abrupt and hardy population growth (1.8% from 1885 to 1913). From 1850 to 1900, Russia's population doubled. The natural population increase between 1896 and 1900 was 17.4%. Russia's population growth rate from 1850 to 1910 was the fastest of all the major powers, except for the United States.

Table 3.3.1. GDP per capita of the Russian Empire, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Germany from 1885 to 1905<sup>128</sup>.

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<sup>128</sup> The data are taken from the Maddison project: <http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>.



	Russian Empire	USA	UK	France	Germany
1885	<b>865</b>	3,270	3,574	2,207	2,216
1886	<b>832</b>	3,294	3,600	2,237	2,211
1887	<b>972</b>	3,368	3,713	2,249	2,275
1888	<b>935</b>	3,282	3,849	2,269	2,341
1889	<b>870</b>	3,413	4,024	2,322	2,379
1890	<b>866</b>	3,392	4,009	2,376	2,428
1891	<b>793</b>	3,467	3,975	2,432	2,397
1892	<b>869</b>	3,728	3,846	2,493	2,469
1893	<b>984</b>	3,478	3,811	2,535	2,565
1894	<b>1,119</b>	3,314	4,029	2,626	2,598
1895	<b>1,036</b>	3,644	4,118	2,569	2,686
1896	<b>1,141</b>	3,504	4,249	2,685	2,740
1897	<b>1,122</b>	3,769	4,264	2,639	2,775
1898	<b>1,151</b>	3,780	4,428	2,760	2,848
1899	<b>1,222</b>	4,051	4,567	2,911	2,905
1900	<b>1,196</b>	4,091	4,492	2,876	2,985
1901	<b>1,225</b>	4,464	4,450	2,826	2,871
1902	<b>1,332</b>	4,421	4,525	2,775	2,893
1903	<b>1,240</b>	4,551	4,440	2,831	3,008
1904	<b>1,371</b>	4,410	4,428	2,847	3,083
1905	<b>1,214</b>	4,642	4,520	2,894	3,104

Table 3.3.2. Russian GDP from 1813 to 1913<sup>129</sup>.

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<sup>129</sup> Paul, Gregory. *Before Command: An Economic History of Russia from Emancipation to the First Five-Year Plan*, p. 24.

	GDP	Population	GDP per capita
1861-1883	1.8	1.1	0.7
1883-1913	3.25	1.6	1.65

As can be seen from the table presented above, the economy of the Russian Empire was developing rather fast, by rate of GDP and GDP per capita (yearly growth around 2.5% for GDP and around 1% for GDP per capita). The Russian economic development looks rather favourable in international comparisons.

The table below is taken from British economist Angus Maddison's "Contours of the World Economy, 1–2030 AD". This table represents the GDP (PPP) in millions of 1990 International Dollars of ten largest economies of the World. As can be seen, the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century placed fourth after China, India, the United States and the United Kingdom<sup>130</sup>.

Table 3.3.3. GDP in millions of 1990 International Dollars of the ten largest economies of the world.

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<sup>130</sup> Maddison, Angus, *Contours of the World Economy, 1–2030 AD*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 379, table

1913	United States 517,383	China 241,341	German Empire 237,332	<b>Russian Empire 232,351</b>	United Kingdom 224,618	India 204,242	France 144,489	Italy 95,487	Japan 71,653	Spain 41,653
1870	China 189,470	India 134,882	United Kingdom 100,180	United States 98,374	<b>Russian Empire 83,646</b>	German Empire 72,149	France 72,100	Italy 41,814	Japan 25,393	Spain 19,556
1820	China 228,600	India 111,417	<b>Russian Empire 37,678</b>	United Kingdom 36,232	France 35,468	Prussia 26,819	Italy 22,535	Japan 20,739	United States 12,548	Spain 12,299

This rate of economic growth took place largely thanks to the industrialization that had spread from the industrially developed central regions to the periphery.

The consumer goods industry developed as fast and as intensively as heavy industry. However, heavy industry requires much more capital and investment as compared to consumer goods, and when there is a shortage of capital, the consumer goods industry leads the economy. The other substantial non-industrial branches of the Russian economy, particularly the agricultural and service sector, competed with the rapidly growing heavy industry and actively drained away some of its labour force.

At this point, we shall analyse and interpret the data in light of our knowledge regarding the scale of the country. Therefore, the level of development of Russian industry at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as the number of people employed in the industrial sector of the economy must be estimated accordingly. By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of the Russian Empire was around 140 million people. A great share of the population (the majority) still was represented by peasants who did not enter the labour market. The table below illustrates the distribution of hired labourers in Russia. The data are presented by sector of economy.

Table 3.3.4. The distribution of hired labourers in Russia, by sector of economy, 1861 and 1913 (thousands)<sup>131</sup>.

	<i>1860</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1913/1860</i>
<i>Industry and Construction</i>			
Factories and	800	3100	3.9
Outwork and	800	3000	3.7
Construction	350	1500	4.3
Subtotal	1950	7600	3.9
<i>Transport</i>			
Railways	11	815	74
Rivers	500	500	1
Subtotal	511	1315	2.6
<i>Agriculture</i>	700	4500	6.4
Other	800	4065	5.1
Total	3960	17815	4.5

To sum up, industrialization and structural change was an important but not sole engine of economic development. While wealthier provinces had a larger industrial sector, service sector and agriculture were alternative paths to prosperity.

Apropos of economic development, we shall now limn the economic challenges faced by the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>131</sup> Source: Rashin, A.G. (1958), Formirovanie rabocheho klassa Rossii [Formation of the working class of Russia], 172. "Other" includes unskilled and casual laborers, workers in trade, catering and domestic service.

Lack of investment tops the list. Although the industrial sector was rapidly developing and there was a grain surplus, still heavy industry needed more capital to catch up with western industrialized countries and be able to compete with them on the international market. As well, the food and goods consumption of the growing Russian population was increasing from year to year.

Second, the galloping industrialization and urbanization of the country demanded governmental intervention on a larger scale. In fact, the role of the Russian government, in comparison with the governmental impact on the economy of other countries, was rather undersized. This is illustrated in the table presented below.

Table 3.3.5. Growth of Government Expenditure and Household Consumption, Late 19th-early 20th Centuries (ratio to national income growth).<sup>132</sup>

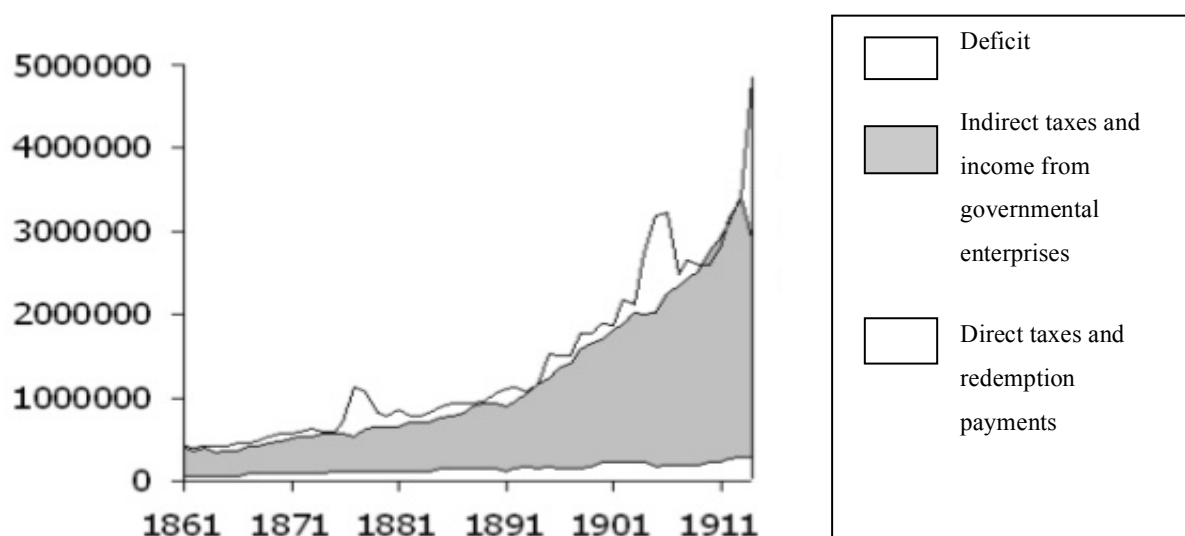
	Household	Government
United Kingdom	0.88	1.70
Germany	0.90	1.30
United States	0.97	1.20
Russia: 1885-1913	0.94	1.21
1885-1900	1.03	1.21
1907-13	1.00	1.38

The government's answer to those problems included: the politics of industrial encouragement of Vitte<sup>133</sup>, protection of home industries, building of railways (indirect taxes) and finally an introduction of golden standard.

<sup>132</sup> Source: Gregory, Paul R. (1980), "Russian living standards during the industrialization era, 1885-1913", *Review of Income and Wealth*, 26(1), 98-102.

<sup>133</sup> Vitte Sergej Yulievich, Russian Minister of Finance (1892-1903).

Table 3.3.6. The budget of the Russian Empire: revenues<sup>134</sup>.



Mainly, the Russian government accrued capital for the further development and industrialization of the country by means of indirect taxes imposed on the peasants. The taxes were significantly raised on such daily essentials as matches and kerosene. The structure and the proportions of the Russian budget are reflected in the table presented above. A substantial amount of money extracted from indirect taxes was invested in railway construction.

Vitte's financial plan soon yielded results. Especially successful was the focus on railway development and the introduction of the gold standard that assured the flow of foreign capital. As can be seen from the table presented below, the level of foreign investment increased significantly by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the establishment of the gold standard, the total volume of foreign investment experienced a four-fold increase. The share of foreign investment in the national income grew from 5% to 11%.

<sup>134</sup> Source: Xromov P.A., *Ėkonomicheskoe razvitie Rossii v 19-20 vekakh*, (Moscow, 1950), p. 494-539.

Table 3.3.7. Net foreign investments, fluctuations in governmental gold reserves and foreign debts: Russia, 1885-1897 and 1897-1913 (millions rubbles).<sup>135</sup>

	In total for 1885-	On an average	In total for 1897-	On an average
Fluctuations in governmental gold reserves (gold mining not included) (1)	+425	+33	-113	-7
Fluctuations in external debt of joint-stocks (2)	+404	+31	+1683	+99
Fluctuations in external governmental debt (3)	+635	+49	+1280	+75
Fluctuations in external debts of the cities (4)	+70	+5	+315	+19
Net foreign investments (direct count 2+3+4-1)	684	53	3391	199
Net foreign investments (indirect count through the flow of goods and services)	558	43	3241	191

Of course, for an objective examination of the economic development of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a section on Russia's agricultural production should be added. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, more than 70% of the Russian population was employed in agriculture.

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<sup>135</sup> Paul R Gregory, *Ekonomicheskii`rost Rossii`sqoi` Imperii (qonetc 19 nachalo 20 v.). Novy`e podschety` i ocenqi*, (Moscow, 2003), p. 68.

Agriculture was successfully developing in Russian Empire, and at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was still a profitable sector in the Russian economy. Agriculture was particular advanced in the South and in West Siberia, where labour productivity was higher than in other industries as well as in absolute terms. According Gregory<sup>136</sup>, the rate of crop yield in the Russian Empire from this time onwards exceeded its consumption within the village. The table below illustrates the growth of village food grain retention in Russia from 1885 to 1913.

Table 3.3.8. Growth of Village Food Grain Retentions, 1885-1913 (percent per year)<sup>137</sup>

	Retained, food grains	Net National Product	Total population, Russian Empire
1885/89 to 1909/13	3.6	3.25	1.5
1885/89 to 1897/1901	3.5	3.6	1.5
1897/1901 to 1909/13	3.7	2.9	1.6
1897/1901 to 1904/08	2.5	2.1	1.6
1904/08 to 1909/13	5.5	4.3	1.5

Apropos of the problem of institutions, Russia's institutional system at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century differed markedly from that of the western European countries and the United States. Only in 1861 had serfdom been abolished in Russia, and land

<sup>136</sup> Paul, Gregory. *Russian National Income, 1885-1913*, p. 235-240.

<sup>137</sup> Source: Gregory, Paul R. (1979), "Grain marketing and peasant consumption, Russia, 1885 - 1913", *Explorations in Economic History*, 17(2), 148. Retained foodgrains are wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, Retained foodgrains are wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, retained within the village of origin. For 1897 -1913 a growth rate of 1.3%p.a. for the rural population of the Russian Empire (USSR territory) is obtained from TsSU (1972), *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR, 1922-1977*, 9.



ownership was vested in peasant communes, “the obschina or mir, where periodic redistribution of land is usually seen as having hindered investment or innovation”<sup>138</sup>. Actually, the obschina was rather flexible<sup>139</sup>, and agricultural output had been developing very fast in Russia while it stagnated in Britain, a country with a highly developed institutional framework.

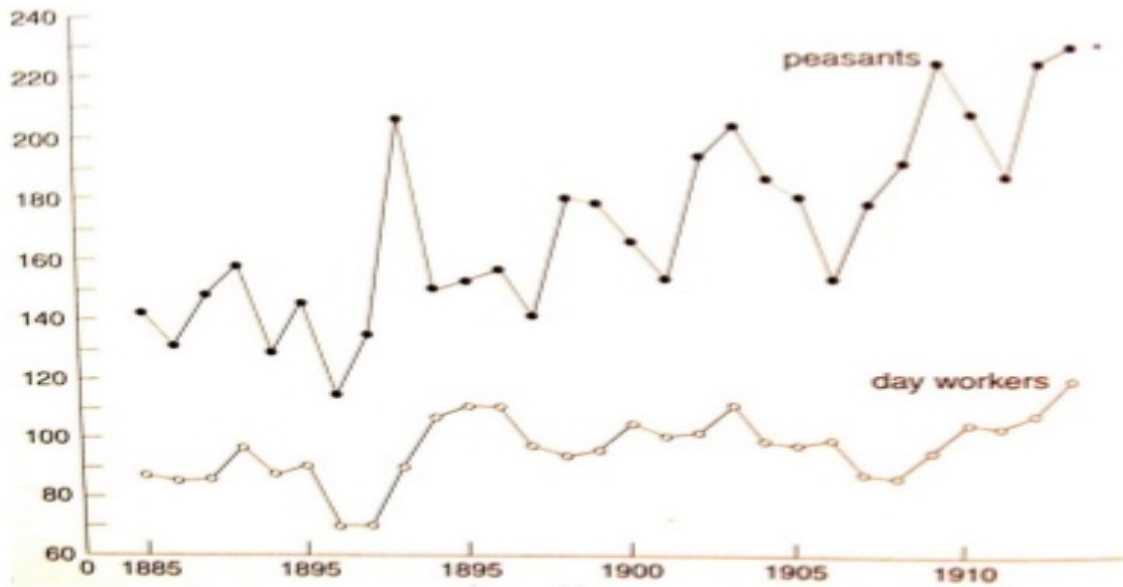
A comparison between the income of peasants as the owners of the land and the wages of agricultural day workers yields a significant difference. According to the table presented below, the yearly wages of agricultural day workers were quite stable throughout the twenty-five examined years. The growth of yearly income of peasants can be explained by the growing value of the land itself in those years and the successful trade operations on the European agricultural market. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Russia entered the world grain trade and became a very active and successful exporter of grain to European countries. By 1913, Russia, not the United States, was the main "invader" of most European markets, at least for wheat.

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<sup>138</sup> Gerschenkron, A., “Agrarian Policies and Industrialisation in Russia, 1861-1917”, in Postan, M.M. and Habakkuk, H.J. (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Volume 6, Part 2*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 706-800.

<sup>139</sup> Paul R Gregory, *Before Command. An Economic History of Russia from Emancipation to the First Five-Year Plan*, (Princeton: Princeton UP., 1994).

Table 3.3.9. Yearly income of peasants and wages of agricultural day workers (in rubbles, year 1913).<sup>140</sup>



The growth in agricultural production in the Russian Empire was very rapid and significant. Giovanni Federico, one of the top specialists in the field of agricultural history tells us, “In fact, the best growth performance by far was recorded by Russia, where production increased by a factor of 2.5 over 43 years, and the next highest increase was in the Habsburg Empire. Clearly, these figures have to be considered with caution, but there is no doubt that Russia was a success story, as confirmed by the great increase in its agricultural exports”<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Allen, Robert C., *Farm to Factory: A Reinterpretation of the Soviet Industrial Revolution*, Princeton, N.J., (Princeton University Press, 2003).

<sup>141</sup> Federico Giovanni, “The growth of World agricultural production, 1800-1938”, *Research in Economic History*, 22, 157.

Table 3.3.10. Agricultural production in 1913, by country<sup>142</sup>

Value Added (£m)	Gross Output (£m)	Share VA/ gross output	Share livestock	Growth rate of gross output, 1870-1913 (% p.a.)	
Austria-Hungary	383	414	0.925	0.262	1.88
Belgium	34	54	0.630	0.665	0.76
Denmark	36	67	0.540	0.940	1.62
Finland	15	18	0.833	0.746	1.56
France	516	587	0.879	0.426	0.62
Germany	526	575	0.915	0.698	1.56
Greece	18	20	0.900	0.363	2.12
Italy	326	352	0.926	0.307	1.14
Netherlands	30	56	0.536	0.591	0.65
Portugal	26	28	0.929	0.236	0.54
Russia	729	767	0.950	0.344	2.24
Spain	137	145	0.945	0.344	0.46
Sweden	37	44	0.841	0.661	0.96
Switzerland	31	35	0.886	0.795	0.70
UK	135	201	0.672	0.747	0.00

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 125-181.

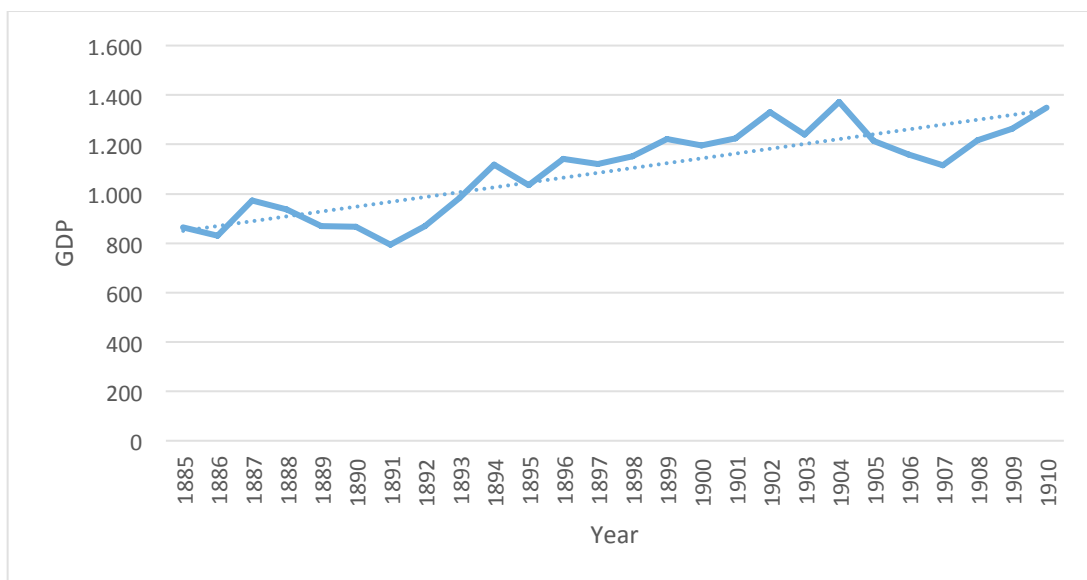
North West Europe	287	440	0.653	0.748	0.88
Central & Eastern Europe	1,132	1,132	0.904	0.429	1.91
Southern Europe	1,791	1,791	0.932	0.372	0.78
Europe	2,979	3,363	0.886	0.452	1.36
"World"	5,640	6,387	0.883	0.437	1.56

### 3.4.Economic Depression

The turn-of-the-century economic depression had a massive influence on the workers' movement.

While in the historiography in the field it is common to use the term *crisis* to describe the economic development of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is more appropriate to define it as *depression*. The graph presented below clearly shows that Russian economic development stagnated during the first years of the new century. A sharp decline took place in the year 1903.

Graph 3.4.1. GDP per capita in the Russian Empire (from Maddison)<sup>143</sup>.



The world economic crisis of the years 1900-1903 not only began in Russia some years earlier, but was deeper and longer than in Western Europe and the United States. The first symptoms of the depression emerged in the field of exchange and credit. In the summer of 1899, a Russian monetary crisis broke out. The bankruptcy of many large

<sup>143</sup> The data are taken from the Maddison project online:

<http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>

firms led to serious financial losses for a number of banks. Meanwhile, investors started reclaiming their money from the banks' depositors. As a response, the banks began to abstain from lending capitals to the enterprises, including industrial ones, and everywhere the lack of available funds began to be felt.

Tensions in the monetary market continued to amplify, and by the end of 1899 the tension became especially sharp. Credit had risen sharply in price. The state bank has lifted discount rate from 4, 5 % (in June) to 7, and 5 % (in December, 1899). Share prices at a stock exchange began to fall, especially in second half of 1899. To counteract it, the Ministry of Finance at the initiative of Vitte created a special bank syndicate led by the State Bank with capital of 5.5 million, but these actions could not hold off the depression.

Depression in one branch of industry was reflected in the others. The course of the depression was accompanied by mass bankruptcies. Within the years 1900-1903, three thousand enterprises were closed. The country was inundated by a wave of unemployment. Salaries at almost at all enterprises dropped by 20-30 %.

As in all capitalist countries, industry in Russia developed in a cyclical manner. Rates of industrial development fluctuated sharply, depending on the phase of their industrial cycle. The depression revealed itself unevenly in different industries. At a certain point, the depression reached those branches of industry that had once had the fastest development. First and foremost, this was true of ferrous metallurgy. The smelting of cast iron reached about 176.8 million pods in the country. State orders played a considerable role in this branch of industry. At the turn of the 20th century, about one-third of melted cast iron was used to manufacture rails. However, in the second half of 1900, the overproduction of ferrous metal started to take its toll, and prices for products of the metal industry began to fall. Overproduction was obvious in the cotton industry and some other branches of industry (tanning, chemicals and to a certain extent, machine-building).

A fuel shortage characterized not only the last years of the Russian industrial boom but also the onset of the depression. In 1900, the prices of coal and oil shot up. Due to the shortage of the former, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1900, the government authorized a duty-free import of coal from abroad. In general, Russia received abroad almost 300 million pods of coal and coke. In 1903, the Russian coal industry began to raise extractions, but coal prices continued to remain below the price level of the year 1900.

In the petroleum industry, prices fell even more sharply: in 1902 more than in 2 times against the level of the year 1900.

The establishment of joint-stock companies was sharply tied up in the depression. While in 1899, 325 joint-stock companies were established, in 1902 the corresponding number was only 78. Many banks failed. Depression was accompanied by numerous bankruptcies and a sharp fall in stock value. During the depression, the share prices of the Putilovsky enterprise plummeted by 67.1 %, the Sormovsky enterprise, 74 %, Russian-Baltic car-building, by 63.4 %, Bryansk rail-rolling, by 86.5 %, Nobel Oil manufacture, by 39.7%, the Baku oil society, by 67.4 %, the Southeast railway, by 56.2 %, and the Petersburg Registration and Loan Bank, by 59.3%..

In 1901, unemployment increased significantly. In the manufacturing industry alone about 35,000 employees were dismissed. By the end of 1902, unemployment had risen yet more. In large factories of certain industrial centres, one-third and even up to one-half of workers were fired. The salaries of workers had fallen everywhere. Unemployment became the norm.

Scholars of pre-revolutionary Russian history understand the impact of the depression on the labour market as well as on the strike movements in different ways: one argues that strike activity during the depression was much less pronounced due to the threat of unemployment and the illegality of strikes in Russia at that time; conversely, others maintain that workers went on strike much more during the

depression because of the fall of wages. In any event, there is unanimous agreement that the depression changed the dynamics of strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia. Our findings on the influence of the depression on strike movements in Russia based on the analysis of the new set of data will be presented in the third chapter of the current paper.



### ***3.5.Legislation***

Russia's first factory legislation was enacted in 1835. Passed was an economic law that regulated 'the relations between the owners of industrial enterprises and the workers they hire'. This law concerned contractual relations between workers and employees. The law of 1845 prohibited night work for children under twelve years of age. These early laws were not, however, enforced. Real enforcement of these laws began in 1882, forty-seven years after their creation, which coincided with the creation of a Factory Inspectorate. The Factory Inspectorate was established for the examination and assertion of wage rates and rules of internal factory order. Another very essential function of the Factory Inspectorate was intervention in the conflicts between employers and employed workers, developing and afterwards adopting the mechanisms and regulations to prevent clashes between factory owners and workers, and initiating court action against those who violated the rules<sup>144</sup>.

A number of laws were enacted between 1882 and 1917. Some of the most important ones prohibited employment of children under twelve years of age (1882), prohibited night work for women and those under the age of seventeen in textile mills (1885), established terms for labour contracts and outlawed strikes (1886), prohibited all night work for women and wage earners under seventeen years of age (1890)<sup>145</sup>.

The development of factory legislation was carried out by means of special commissions that were created to control and supervise the stage-by-stage formation of the labour legislation. It is possible to determine three basic periods of its reformation:

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<sup>144</sup> See Tugan-Baranovsky M.I. *Russian factory in 19th century*, Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey Ltd, 1970.

<sup>145</sup> Shelymagin I.I., *Zakonodatel'stvo o fabrichno-zavodskom trude v Rossii, 1900-1917*, (Moscow, 1952).

1st period: the end of 1860s – 1870s. During this period, the executive function of labour question policy basically rested with the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

2nd period: 1880s. This period can be characterized by the struggle of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of the Finance to influence policies on labour questions;

3rd period: 1890s – the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the executive functions of labour question policies were transferred to the Ministry of Finance.

In first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the labour question did not take an important place in governmental policy, and basically was reduced to maintenance of the industry by a labour power. The purpose of the labour legislation of that period was the creation of a legal basis for the development of the industry, and neutralization of the negative social consequences of industrialization.

Among the numerous commissions and groups that carried out and revised the legislation, we might identify Shtakelberg's (1862) special commission on revision of factory and craft charters, the commission on regulation relations of recruitment under the chairmanship of Ignatyev (1870), the interdepartmental commission under the chairmanship of Valuev (1874), the special commission under the chairmanship of Bunge (1881), the commission for “tracing of normal rules” about interrelations between manufacturers and workers under the chairmanship of Pleve (1885), and the commission under the supervision of Vitte (1893).

In the 1860s and 1870s, the basic elements of a protective-trustee policy of the government in the sphere of labour relations developed:

- Rejection of the liberal bourgeois principle of freedom of relations between labour and capital, as well as freedom to strike and the labour organizations associated with them, labour representation in elective bodies (in particular, in industrial courts

under commission of Shtakelberg's project) as these has appeared incompatible with an autocratic system;

– On the one hand, the recognition of freedom between employer and workers in the delimited sphere of the labour contract, and , on the other hand, a rigid regulation of the interrelations between workers and employers; intervention on labour relations "from above" and detailed regulations with a view towards the prevention of labour conflicts;

– The regulation of the organization of labour and life in workplaces was carried out through the regulations created by owners and entered into without any explanations to workers.

By means of fiscal and investment policies, factory legislation and administrative intervention in labour-management relations, the state exerted a decisive influence on nearly all aspects of industrial life. Relations between workers and employers were frequently mediated by government authorities, transforming conflicts over workplace conditions into political confrontations. Despite the appearance of employers' associations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century<sup>146</sup>, most industrial employers remained politically inarticulate prior to 1905, and were themselves subordinated to a powerful and intrusive state apparatus. At the point of production, employer-worker relations before 1905 were to a great extent shaped by traditional patriarchal attitudes carried into the factory from the rural economy.

Apart from the *zemstvo* organizations, which were organs of rural self-government established in 1864, there were few opportunities in tsarist Russia for collective association (legal or illegal) prior to 1905. Organizations such as artisanal

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<sup>146</sup> The Petersburg Society to Assist the Development and Improvement of Factory Industry was established in 1893 but did not obtain legal status until January 29, 1897; the Society of Factory Owners in the Central Industrial Region and the Petersburg Society of Factory Owners were founded in late 1905 and early 1906, respectively.

guilds operated under the close tutelage of government authorities, who remained profoundly wary of all manifestations of autonomous social action. The importance of this circumstance can scarcely be overstated. Before and after 1905, both workers and employers groped for organizational and institutional means to articulate their interests, but neither group had the background that might have facilitated an interrelationship based on mutual recognition of collective rights.

The analysis of the development and reception of factory legislation on the labour question in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brings us to the following conclusions. Two main conditions are necessary for the successful realization of any law: (1) control over execution; and (2) accurate norms, which provide retaliatory sanctions for its infringement. An absence of such articles in these first laws dramatically reduced their value. Prior to the law about factory inspections, the state policy on labour questions could be seen as trustee-like. Factory legislation usually entered at the beginning for several provinces or districts, and then over a long period extended to other territories.

### ***3.6. Labour question in the Russian Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

The specificity of the labour question in Russia is defined by certain features of its social, economic and political development during the period of study.

The development of large manufacturing in Russia differed from its development in Western Europe mainly because in the West, countries with capitalist manufacturing had finished its formation under conditions of a bourgeois system, with the longstanding presence of hired workers formed mainly from the environment of shop handicraftsmen. In Russia, by contrast, large-scale industry developed under conditions of serfdom. Furthermore, the abolition of serfdom did not mean a revolutionary collapse of public relations.

The transition from the manufacturing to the machine production in Russia is notable for a significant particularity: in no other country during the manufactory period there was such diversity of workers' personnel as in Russia, where various degrees of external economic compulsion defined the presence of several categories of work (e.g., patrimonial, bondage, slave workers, possession (owned by the plant or a factory) workers, seasonal workers).

A semi-proletarian layer was not difficult to discern in Russian. This layer was characterized by both general proletarian, and distinctive features. A considerable part of it consisted of an army of hired workers in the fields of agriculture, building, forestry, shipping, trade, municipal economy and in many areas that did not demand special professional training.

The state of hired workers in Russia already under the conditions of a serf system reflected their position as people who made recruitment contracts with entrepreneurs.

Practically until the end of 1860s, several schemes of recruitment, with differing forms and conditions were at play in Russia: through factory offices, agent-recruiters and volost<sup>147</sup> boards of administration.

Of all categories of workers, the patrimonial workmen were exposed to the strongest operation. The exclusive owner and manager of their work – the landowner-entrepreneur – could transfer as he pleased peasants from arable land to industrial production, and vice versa.

A strengthening of capitalist oppression at the workplace went hand in hand with the distribution of mechanical production in various branches of industry. This in turn led to a lengthening of the work day, transition from single-shift to double-shift work, and to night work. This process becomes especially obvious in the Moscow, Petersburg and Vladimir provinces in the 1840s and 1850s. Further, transition to manufacturing led to more female and child labour<sup>148</sup>.

The abolition of serfdom did not make an appreciable difference in the workers' state. Until the 1870s, labour relations were dualistic: the employer and the worker. The state regulated these relations through legislation, but it did not directly step between the two sides.

Until 1886, the delivery of pay books was not obligatory, and depended on the discretion of the employer. Owners could terminate the work contract at will, while the worker could petition for contract cancellation only through the courts. Until the moment of judgment, the worker would have had to have continued working at the factory under the threat of criminal sanction.

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<sup>147</sup> Volost is a *small rural district in pre-revolutionary Russia*.

<sup>148</sup> Napalkova I. G. K voprosu ob otvetstvennosti predprinimatelei za rabochix, postradavshix ot neschastnyx sluchaev v promyshlennykh zavedeniiax / I. G. Napalkova // Krest'ianin v miru i na voine: Materialy III Merkushkin. nauch. chtenii. – Saransk, 2005. – P. 379 – 383.

Factory owners actively influenced workers by means of means of economic actions. This system of penalty was widely dispersed<sup>149</sup>.

The length of the work day varied from workplace to workplace, and not only in shops of various branches, but even in the same branch and in the same district. By the end of 80s, the common work day lasted from 13 to 14 hours, while at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century it had decreased to 10 working hours per day. The work day in the same workplace could differ by 1-4 hours. As a rule, smaller factories and workplaces without technical improvements had relatively longer hours.

Men earned higher wages than women, and considerable fluctuations of wage in different factories, industry branches and trades can be observed.

Naturally, the labour question encompasses the employment of minors. There is some evidence among mass observations of factory and mine workers in capitalistic Russian that children began factory work at an extremely early age. In absolute terms, the greatest number of juvenile work in the late 1870s – early 1880s was concentrated in enterprises which processed fibrous substances<sup>150</sup>.

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<sup>149</sup> For more detailed information about the motivation of workers see Borodkin L.I., Safonova E.I. Motivatsiia truda na fabrike "Trexgornaia manufaktura" v pervye gody Sovetskoï vlasti // Istoriko-ekonomicheskie issledovaniia. 2002. № 1. p. 55-87.

<sup>150</sup> Napalkova I. G. K voprosu ob otvetstvennosti predprinimatelei za rabochix, postradavshix ot neschastnyx sluchaev v promyshlennykh zavedeniiax / I. G. Napalkova // Krest'ianin v miru i na voine: Materialy III Merkushkin. nauch. chtenii. – Saransk, 2005, p. 380.

### ***3.7.Characteristics of the Working Class on the Eve of 1905***

A phenomenon as multifaceted as the development of labour movement activity in Russia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century requires at minimum a mention of the contemporary social state of workers. That the current thesis spotlights a very particular side of the research subject makes this short discursion especially crucial. We are dealing with a complex problem that calls for a comprehensive research approach. For decades, the historiography was inclined to discount the maturing of the objective preconditions of this movement, as well changes in the social state of the working class, shifts in the level of its class consciousness, growth of organization and activity in the direction of a left-wing radical Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, the negative influence of the economic crisis on the position of workers, and in the year 1904, the Russian-Japanese war.

More than one million men and woman – most of them peasants – entered the industrial labour force between 1887 and 1900, bringing the total number of factory and mining workers in the Russian Empire at the turn of the century to 2.4 million. By 1914, the industrial population had increased to about 3.7 million<sup>151</sup>. But industrial employment represented only one aspect of the growing non-agricultural economy. During the 1890s, thousands of peasants found jobs in artisanal trades and in an expanding network of putting-out industries in cities and countryside. Still others earned their livelihood in commercial firms and in the flourishing construction, transportation, and communications sectors of the economy. Another large group joined the ranks of day labourers. In these categories combined, there were about 6.4 million

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<sup>151</sup> These figures include workers in manufacturing and metallurgical industries and in rail transport. Blackwell, William L., *The Industrialization of Russia: An Historical Perspective*, (Arlington Heights, Illinois, 1982), p.46.



hired workers in the Russian Empire in 1897, the year of the country's first national census<sup>152</sup>.

Urbanization coincided with industrialization. By way of illustration, 400,000 people migrated to St. Petersburg (1890-1900) and 260,000 migrated to Moscow (1892-1902) during the decade of rapid industrial development at the end of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, St. Petersburg had a population of 1.4 million and Moscow a population of 1.1 million (1902). In the eve of the First World War, the population of St. Petersburg had grown to 2.2 million; 1.7 million people lived in Moscow. They were the most populous cities in the Russian Empire. It is notable, however, that on the eve of the First World War, only a little more than 13% of the population in the country as a whole lived in cities<sup>153</sup>. Despite the onset of industrial development and some major urban centres, Russia remained an overwhelmingly agrarian country on the eve of the Revolution.

Research in the post-Soviet period lavished attention on Russia's early-20<sup>th</sup> century modernization, as expressed in accelerated industrialization, and the notion that state intervention in deep regulatory processes of the industry led to the crippling of Russian capitalism. This was understood to have had negative consequences on both economic and socio-political levels<sup>154</sup>. The swift-moving industrial growth destroyed the traditional mechanisms of life for most pre-revolutionary workers, and this change was followed by seismic shifts in their way of perceiving themselves and the world.

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<sup>152</sup> *Chislennost' i sostav rabochix v Rossii na osnovanii dannyx pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 g.* 2 vols, (SPb, 1906), I, pp. vii-20. These and other data pertaining to the Russian Empire exclude the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand-Duchy of Finland.

<sup>153</sup> Bonnell, Victoria, *Roots of Rebellion: Worker's Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914*, (Berkley, Los Angeles and London, 1983), pp. 20-21.

<sup>154</sup> *Pervaia revoliutsiia v Rossii: vzgliad cherez stoletie*. M., 2005. p. 26.

St. Petersburg and Moscow were the most important urban centres in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century; they were also major industrial cities. Around 1900, there were about 313,000 factory and artisanal workers in St. Petersburg and 263,000 in Moscow. They were distributed as follows:

*Table 3.7.1. Factory and Artisanal Workers in St. Petersburg and Moscow at the turn of the century*<sup>155</sup>

	<i>Factory</i>	<i>Artisanal</i>	<b>Total</b>
St. Petersburg	162,000	151,000	313,000
Moscow	112,000	151,000	263,000

As can be seen from the table presented further, workers were distributed non-uniformly among certain groups of employment.

*Table 3.7.2. The distribution of workers by occupation in the Russian Empire according to the general census of population of 1897*<sup>156</sup>

	Number of workers	Percentage of the general number of workers in Russian Empire
Extraction of ores and work in mines	163.	5,1
Metal smelting	42.	1,3
Processing of fibrous substances	530.	16,5
Processing of animal products	74.	2,3

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.23.

<sup>156</sup> *CHislennost' i sostav rabochix v Rossii na osnovanii dannyx pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 g.* 2 vols, (SPb, 1906), p. IX.

Woodworking industry	173.	5,4
Metalworking production	370.	11,5
Processing of mineral substances	83.	2,5
Chemical manufacture	61.	1,9
Distillation, brewing and honey	38.	1,2
Manufacture of other drinks and barmy	4. 220	0,1
Processing of animal and vegetative	194.	6,1
Tobacco and products from it	27.	0,9
Polygraph manufactures	52.	1,6
Manufacture of tools and etc.	8. 030	0,2
Jewellery and manufacture of subjects of a	25.	0,8
Clothes manufacturing	326.	10,2
Repair, building and construction works	345.	10,8
Manufacture of crews and manufacture of	8. 793	0,3
Manufactures not entered into the previous	65.	2,0
Mail, telegraph, phone	5. 463	0,2
Water communications	44.	1,4
Railways	175.	5,4
Jarvey craft	118.	3,6
Other overland transportation	25.	0,8
Trade	118.	3,7

Taverns, hotels and other	76.	2,4
Alcohol trade	17.	0,5
The institutions, concerning beauty and	42.	1,3

The data in the given table attests that the largest percentage of workers was employed in the textile industry, followed by metalworking, construction and cloth manufacturing. All other manufacturing occupy a rather small number of operatives, as in none of them the number of workers exceed 6 % of the total number of workers, and in many, not even 1%.

***Table 3.7.3. Number of workers in the factory industry from 1895 to 1904. Data are presented by Izmistieva T.S. on the web site of Web Resource “The Labour Relations Evolution in Russian Industries: from Pre-Revolutionary Industrialization to NEP”<sup>157</sup>.***

Year	Number of workers in Industry							
	<i>Fuel</i>	<i>Mining</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Chemical</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Textile</i>	<i>Paper</i>
<b>1895</b>	86334	153079	242171	44294	47450	216587	467838	28912
<b>1896</b>	94606	137951	293812	74790	65088	216445	519213	31153
<b>1897</b>	111599	145758	339839	85488	62821	221010	597962	34008
<b>1898</b>	126983	147081	354753	82188	62554	221462	599443	36104

<sup>157</sup> Souce: <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Labs/Ecohist/DBASES/INDUSTRY/index.htm>.

<b>1899</b>	150904	168982	370258	78888	59764	225208	600924	38201
<b>1900</b>	183280	181794	376810	73964	60025	235643	595198	40297
<b>1901</b>	195846	156693	384618	79664	70046	246696	642359	39627
<b>1902</b>	177490	153000	376295	78447	71921	237369	648749	39516
<b>1903</b>	179622	139449	381209	85083	69410	242180	664665	39408
<b>1904</b>	192796	138596	389925	78535	67894	237227	666402	39295

After the turn of the century, the non-agricultural labour force continued to grow, though at a slower pace than it had during the 1890s. The major industries of the Russian Empire were textile and metalworking. The textile industry (cotton, silk, wool, and linen), with more than half a million workers, was the largest single employer of factory labour in the Russian Empire in 1897. Metalworking was the second largest employer of factory labour, with 414,000 workers at the end of the 1890s. St. Petersburg was the country's most important centre for the metalworking industry; textiles provided the largest industrial employer in Moscow and the surrounding regions.

In order to see the distribution of male and female workers according to the branches of industry it is necessary to see the data represented in the Population Census of 1897. The table below illustrates the gender distribution of Russian labour at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

***Table 3.7.4. Occupation of people in the Russian Empire in 1897 by gender. Data from the Population Census of 1897 in the Russian Empire<sup>158</sup>.***

<b><i>Occupation</i></b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<i>Agriculture</i>	16159118	2086169
<i>Manufacture of Fibrous Materials</i>	<b>1290212</b>	<b>828237</b>
<i>Metalworking Industry</i>	<b>615326</b>	<b>9628</b>
<i>Food Industry</i>	517298	60687
<i>Wood manufacturing</i>	395525	14601
<i>Chemical and Mineral Industry</i>	174666	27984
<i>Mining</i>	172261	9042
<i>Print Production</i>	70525	11872
<i>Metal Smelting</i>	45786	1774

The table presented below was constructed on the basis of the "Collection" for five years before the First Russian Revolution, in order to understand better the proportion of male to female workers in the Russian industry at the turn of the century.

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<sup>158</sup> Data are presented on the web site of Web Resource "The Labor Relations Evolution in Russian Industries: from Pre-Revolutionary Industrialization to NEP": <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Labs/Ecohist/DBASES/Census/index.html>.

Table 3.7.5. The number of workers according to gender, based on the data of the "Collection".

The number of workers according to gender (1900-1904)					
Table is based on the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectors, Spb, 1902-1906.					
	Number of workers of both gender	Number of male workers	Number of female workers	Share of male workers in %	Share of female workers in %
1899	1686177	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1900	1696641	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1901	1691356	1238004	453352	73.20%	26.80%
1902	1691986	1221572	470414	72.20%	27.80%
1903	1690478	1227364	463114	72.60%	27.40%
1904	1663080	1204553	458527	72.43%	27.57%

The table presented below gives a brief overview of the distribution of workers in the territory of the Russian Empire in 1897 according to the 1897 general population census. For a more graphic representation, please see the map in the Appendix.

*Table 3.7.6. The distribution of workers by region in the Russian Empire according to the 1897 general population census<sup>159</sup>.*

Region	Number of workers	Share of total Russian industrial workers
European Russia	2.638.178	81,9%
Privislinskaya Region	311.050	9,7%
Caucasus	122.930	3,8%
Siberia	110.987	3,4%
Central Asia	38.420	1,2%

From this table it is obvious that the bulk of workers came from the European part of Russia (81.9 %), then the Privislensky region (9.7%), Caucasus (3.8%) and Siberia (3.4%), leaving Central Asia with only 1.2% of total number of workers in the Russian Empire.

There were many lines of stratification within the Russian working class at the beginning of the twentieth century, but none more decisive for social action than the possession of skill in a labour force where unskilled and semi-skilled workers predominated. Skill, to a greater extent than any other single factor, served to differentiate workers and to provide an important determinant of workers' attributes and life histories.

A key element in the formation of workers' social identities, the mastery of a skill often entailed early arrival at the urban workplace to serve an apprenticeship, prolonged

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<sup>159</sup> The table is taken from: CHislennost' i sostav rabochix v Rossii na osnovanii dannyx pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia Rossiiskoï Imperii 1897 g. Tom 1. (SPb., 1906).



or permanent residence in the city or factory village, and the attenuation or severance of ties to the village. Skilled workers generally attained higher wages, better working and living conditions and more control over the labour process than unskilled or semi-skilled workers. They also tended to be male and to have a higher literacy rate than their unskilled or semi-skilled counterparts. In a working population still dominated by semi-peasant recruits who lacked skill or occupational specialization, the acquisition of a skilled trade and specialized knowledge frequently bestowed upon workers a status and dignity denied to those beneath them in the labour hierarchy. These attributes – skill, literacy, urbanization and craft pride – had important consequences for the workers' disposition to organize collectively.

Interests of industrial production demanded a competent worker, able to read a design, to understand and execute difficult industrial task, and so on. Therefore, the rate of literacy among workers was considerably higher than among the agricultural population. According to the 1897 population census, Russia had only a 21.1 % literacy rate among hired workers. The development of literacy among workers was hampered by a lack of schools, as well as the heavy financial burden the education of children placed on a working family.

Current data do not paint a full, macro-level picture of the development of the educational process at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Russian Empire. Some data indicate that textile workers occupied the fourth place, after instrumentalists and printers (up to 73% literate), metalworkers (66%), chemists and food industry workers (about 50%), in literacy (ability to read and write)<sup>160</sup>.

The shape and structure of the working class in Russia, as well as in other countries, was influenced by the development of the capitalist industry, from small-scale commodity production to factory-based manufacturing.

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<sup>160</sup> CHislennost' i sostav rabochix v Rossii na osnovanii dannyx pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 g. Tom 1. (SPb., 1906), Vol. I, 213.

By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new tendencies can be observed in the structure of the Russian industry; its distribution, organization, technical equipment, and in the structure of the working class. These include the growth of such branches as gold-mining and cotton manufacture; the appearance of new economic branches such as cotton spinning, sugar beet manufacture, mechanical engineering, coal mining and oil-producing industries; the development of railway, river and sea transport; the parallel and interconnected development of small-scale commodity production, manufacturing and factory; redistribution of relative density between manufacturing industry (mainly textile) and mining industries; the deterioration of the natural economic structure, the strengthening the trade barter between city and village, on the one hand, and between export and import on the other hand.

Importantly, the change in worker-village ties at the turn of the century not only altered worker perceptions of their economic situation, but of their social and political arrangements as well. In this context, E.Kruze raised the question whether a worker before the Revolution of 1905 could be really considered a true proletariat. Kruze maintained that it was impossible to definitely answer this question, as a factory-employed worker could own, at the same time, a plot of land that his family members would work while he was away<sup>161</sup>. On the basis of the 1918 census, two indicators of worker-village connection have been identified: First, the existence of a plot owned by a worker or his family; and second and most importantly, whether the worker himself or his family worked this plot, and whether it was an additional source of income. Cruise estimates that around 30% of workers in the core and mining industries had a connection with the village (i.e., farming). In textile production, about 33.6 to 41.2 % of workers had a plot, but only 25 to 28.4 % actually farmed<sup>162</sup>. The bond between workers and the village in the textile industry of the Central Industrial Region was

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<sup>161</sup> Kruze E`. E`. *Polozhenie rabocheho classa v Rossii...*p. 136.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.

especially strong, as has been noted in a great deal of regional research<sup>163</sup>. E.V. Matveeva estimates that up to the half of the textile workers lost contact with the land, but that some workers (actually, a considerable number) lived in villages. As a punishment for striking, workers were home, to the village. In his investigation of the position of workers in the Vladimir Province, A.V.Shipulina noted that 65.6 % of the country yards in the industrial Shuisk district in this province were engaged both in agriculture and in hiring workers, systematically sending un-needed members of the village to the city. Shipulina concluded that it is impossible to establish an accurate estimation of the true connection of workers with the villages<sup>164</sup>. Analysing the results of the related literature, it is possible to identify three forms of relationship between workers and the land: 1) passive connection, which existed for all workers with land; 2) actual (direct, proximate) ties, which involved leaving the enterprises for agricultural work; and 3) an indirect bond with the land through family members who remained in the village, working the plot and providing economic support that the worker could use in some cases.

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<sup>163</sup> Matveeva E. V. *K voprosu o svyazi rabochikh-tekstil'shchikov Kostromskoi gubernii s zemlei v 90-e gody 19 veka. // Promyshlennost' i proletariat Verkhnego Povolzh'ia v kontse 19-nachale 20 vv. Mezhev sb. nauchn. trudov. Vyp. 44. Iaroslavl'. 1976.p.89-96; Belov M. N. O formirovanii oblika rabochikh Tsentral'noi Rossii. // Burzhuziia i rabochie Rossii vo vtoroi polovine 19-nachale KHKH vv. p. 65-69; Belov M. N. O sostave rabochikh provintsii Tsentral'noi Rossii na rubezhe 19-20 vv.: sotsial'nyi aspekt // Rossiiskaia provintsii i ee rol' v istorii gosudarstva, obshchestva i razvitiia kul'tury naroda. Kostroma, 1994. Ch. 2. p. 129-132; Orueva N. F. Sostav i polozenie rabochikh Iaroslavskoi i Kostromskoi gubernii v nachale 20 veka //Uchenye zapiski Omskogo gos. ped. instituta, 1965. Vyp. 22. p. 63-89; Shipulina A. V. Ivanovo-vozniesenskie rabochie nakanune russkoi revoliutsii. // Doklady i soobshcheniia instituta istorii AN SSSR. Vyp. 8. M., 1955. p. 47-55.*

<sup>164</sup> Shipulina A. V. *Ivanovo-vozniesenskie rabochie.*, p. 48-49.

Due to the preservation of peasant communes and its restrictions on the disposal of allotments, as well as the system of mutual responsibility pertaining to taxes and guilds, a considerable number of factory workers continued to own land and residences in the village, and they could receive support from the village.

A substantial number of workers in Russia kept up indirect ties with the village through various relatives. The hereditary worker could easily go to the village for holidays, and receive food from the village if it was rather close to the enterprise. Workers in village factories maintained the strongest indirect connections with the village. In rural areas, a village connection served as a stabilizing factor to soften the blow of poor factory earnings. Nevertheless, the economic crisis of 1900-1903 perceptibly aggravated the situation. During those crisis years, even this apparent stabilizing factor collapsed. Many small businesses closed, and workers were absorbed by large factories far from the home. The peasant-turned-hired worker was obliged to rend his bond with the village and to travel great distances, and to lodge in difficult accommodations for poor pay.

This severing of the link between the worker and the village the loss of the financial boost from the production of agriculture created a difficult dynamic between businessmen and workers. Owners misunderstood that the destruction of this bond to a great extent influenced the productivity of the enterprise.

Thus, in the pre-revolutionary period, a crisis of the traditional mechanisms of social protection of workers (connection with the village, family, patriarchal relations with the manufacturer) under conditions of accelerated modernization failed to generate new forms of social security for workers from the state and businessmen. The destruction of the old social connections resulted in worker hopelessness (taking into account that workers were poorly paid and lived in very difficult conditions). All this promoted even in the provincial territories of the Russian Empire a move from passivity to activity. The crisis of authority at all levels and the visible weakening of traditional modes of power during the Russian-Japanese War contributed to, if it did not impel,

agitation, excitements and strikes. This was expressed in an increase in open protests, which went hand-in-hand with a politicization of class consciousness for a broader swath of the working class. Workers became more receptive to revolutionary socialist propaganda.

Regarding changes in the labour environment on the eve of the Revolution of 1905, we shall now tackle the issue of the political identity of the working class. Political identity has both a collective and a relational character. Whatever the origin and the content of collectivity in the labour movement, it promoted a considerable impact of political propaganda and agitation on the awareness of all workers; hence, party organizations were strengthened. Workers at this time began to realize themselves, to feel as special estate, with their own perceptions, showing endurance and discipline. This was demonstrated more than once by the factory inspectors. Certainly, workers were at that time withdrawing from old perceptions, and were busy forming new views on the world and their place in it. In this process, a considerable role was played by organizations that were apprehended by the still-small but rapidly growing layer of class-conscious, active workers connected with socialists, starting from the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and finishing with other parties. Open worker actions, and especially street demonstrations, changed the ratio of the labour force in favour of socially active workers.

### ***3.8. Workers' Organizations in Russia Before 1905***

Although we are scrutinizing the economic side of the workers' movement, a brief discussion into the socio-political aspects will serve to place the subject into its historical context.

Unlike in Western Europe, where artisanal guilds and mutual aid societies provided important collective experience for workers before and during the introduction of the factory system, in Russia these organizations did not play a comparable role. Russia's artisanal guilds differed fundamentally from their western European counterparts in two main respects. First, they lacked the status of closed corporations and the exclusive authority over production and distribution. Second, their activities were determined by state regulation and they functioned under direct government supervision. When industrialization gathered momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century, guilds were permitted to remain juridically intact, but by 1900 most handcraft production was carried on outside their jurisdiction.

Apart from guilds, the earliest legal associations among Russian workers were mutual aid societies established in the nineteenth century among artisans, sales-clerical employees, skilled service workers, and some factory groups. But judging from the history of mutual aid societies in St. Petersburg and Moscow, the movement to form these organizations was extremely feeble, attesting the government's highly restrictive policies and the inhospitable environment for voluntary association in tsarist Russia.

Several other forms of labour organization made an appearance in the early years of the twentieth century. A law of 'Establishment of Elders in Industrial Enterprises', passed on June 10, 1903, gave limited sanction to elect workers' representatives at the enterprise level. But introduction of the reform was left to the discretion of the employer, who also retained the right to choose the elders from candidates elected by workers. By early 1905, only thirty to forty enterprises in all of Russia had

implemented the law, and many of these were relatively small-scale workplaces, employing fewer than five hundred workers<sup>165</sup>.

The workers' impulse to organize collectively found expression before 1905 in the formation of illegal trade unions. They were few in number and the evidence concerning these groups is extremely fragmentary. Even the more successful illegal unions, such as the Moscow printers' union – established in 1903 by typesetters during major strike – led a highly circumscribed underground existence. Some of these illegal organizations, including the Moscow printers' union, became closely allied with the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party or other radical illegal parties.

By far the most important legal labour organizations prior to 1905 were the state-initiated and police-controlled unions organized by Sergej Zubatov in Moscow and Georgii Gapon in St. Petersburg after the turn of the century. The Zubatov experiment, which was launched in Moscow in 1901, produced the first mass-based legal workers' organization in this city and helped to lay the groundwork for the subsequent development of trade unions during the revolution<sup>166</sup>.

Zubatov, chief of the Moscow Okhranka (Secret Gendarme-Police Service) from 1896 to 1902, and an energetic and committed monarchist, conceived and implemented the new government strategy on labour. His audacious and imaginative project had no precedent, either in Russia or in Western Europe. It rested on two key assumptions. First, Zubatov believed that the interests of workers and employers could be reconciled if the government intervened as a 'superclass arbiter' to ensure that workers received fair treatment at the workplace. Zubatov's second premise was that "workers would remain peaceful and politically loyal to the autocratic system once they had a legal

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<sup>165</sup> Prokopovich S.N., *K rabochemu voprosu v Rossii*, (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 120.

<sup>166</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the Zubatov experiment in Moscow and elsewhere in Russia, see Schneiderman, J., *Sergey Zubatov and Revolutionary Marxist: The Struggle for the Working Class in Tzarist Russia*, (Ithaca, N.Y., London, 1976).

means of achieving material improvement at the workplace and civil equality in the society at large”<sup>167</sup>.

In total, ten Zubatov groups functioned in Moscow between 1901 and 1905. Though membership was small, many thousands of workers came into contact with these organizations through lectures and meetings. Both factory and artisanal workers participated in these groups, with skilled metalworkers and weavers forming the largest and most active societies.

Like the Zubatov movement, the Gapon Assembly grew out of the government’s cooperative strategy for labour. By permitting workers to organize for mutual benefit and self-improvement under the watchful eye of the authorities, government supporters of the project – again concentrated in the powerful Ministry of Internal Affairs – hoped to deflect workers’ energies into peaceful, politically loyal channels.

By the beginning of January 1905, the Gapon Assembly had grown to encompass eleven district groups in St. Petersburg with an estimated total of 9,000 members, 1,000 of them women<sup>168</sup>. Both factory and artisanal groups participated in the Assembly, just as they had in the Moscow Zubatov societies. The three major occupational subdivisions consisted of metalworkers, weavers, and lithographers. However, there were also sections formed by shoemakers, tailors, watchmakers, and others. The sections served as centres for discussion and formulation of economic demands, and appear to have functioned as proto-trade-union organizations.

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., pp. 57, 80. See also Schwartz, Solomon, *The Russian Revolution of 1905: The Workers’ Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, (Chicago and London, 1967), pp. 267-300.

<sup>168</sup> Sablinsky, W., *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905*, (Princeton, 1976), p. 106.



In contrast to the Zubatov societies in Moscow, the Gapon Assembly did not seek involvement in labour-management conflicts. For most of its brief existence, the Assembly emphasized ‘self-help, self-improvement and self-rule [mixed] with temperance and a certain degree of religiousness’<sup>169</sup>. This approach coincided with Gapon’s belief that workers could better their lives by dint of their own efforts. He did not have a coherent ideology to impart to his followers, and whereas Zubatov converted worker-activities to his brand of economism, Gapon himself became a partial convert to the more radical views of Social Democratic activists who figured prominently in the inner circle of the Assembly<sup>170</sup>.

In late December 1904, the Gapon Assembly, by then counting some nine thousand members and many more sympathizers, mobilized around the case of some metalworkers who had been dismissed from their jobs at the Putilov factory, and seized the opportunity to formulate a list of grievances. These were soon concretized in a petition prepared by the leadership of the Assembly for the presentation to the Tsar. The petition linked economic improvement to the broader issue of constitutional reform. The legal right to organize trade unions and to conduct strikes was put forth by the Assembly as a fundamental condition ‘to eliminate the oppression of labour capital’.

On Sunday, January 9, 1905, workers proceeded peacefully towards the Winter Palace under the banners of the Gapon Assembly, carrying icons and petitions to the Tsar. Without warning, government troops opened fire, killing and wounding scores of workers. The incident, which aroused massive indignation among a broad strata of the

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<sup>169</sup> Surh, G.D., ‘Petersburg Workers in 1905: Strikes, Workplace Democracy, and Revolution’, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkley, 1979), pp. 178-179.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-160; Sablinsky, W., *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905*, (Princeton, 1976), pp. 102-105, 125-128; Schwartz, Solomon, *The Russian Revolution of 1905: The Workers’ Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, (Chicago and London, 1967), pp. 281-284.

population, precipitated the Revolution of 1905 and inaugurated a new era in the history of Russian workers' organizations.

## ***Chapter IV.***

### ***Comparative analysis of labour conflicts in Left-Bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg at the turn of the century.***

#### ***4.1 Introduction.***

Born at the very beginning of the working-class movement, the strike is quite often up until today the most effective form of resolution of labour conflicts. At the turn of 20th century, the strike as a form of collective action had a single objective – to resist capitalist pressure at the expense of workers. Strikes have been associated with fluctuations at economic conjunctures, with behaviour of owners of various manufactures, and with the financial and political standing of workers in Russia. The constant appeal by workers to such a form of protest in their attempt to resolve labour conflicts brings to the fore the critical need to understand the dynamics of strike movements in the history of social relations in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Vladimir Lenin wrote that the “strike movement of Russian workers” serves “as the best barometer of all public liberation struggles in Russia”.<sup>171</sup> Thus, he suggested drawing the curves of the graphs representing the growth and the decline of strike and liberation movement in order to show how they overlap with each other. However, Lenin used the materials collected in editions of factory inspection of imperial Russia, which were limited to the largest enterprises of manufacturing industry. A new mass source – "Chronicle", including all manufactures (except agriculture), not only considerably surpasses the data of official statistics on the strike movement, but also represents the data regarding other forms of labour conflicts before the Revolution of 1905-1907, allowing us to compare different types of labour conflicts and forms of

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<sup>171</sup> Lenin V. I., *ZHizn' uchit.* Poln.sobr. soch. T.22. p.300.

worker protest: rallies, meetings, demonstrations. It permits us to present from a new angle the general structure of protests in working-class movement in Imperial Russia.

And here again, great importance is given to the application of mathematical methods in historical research, methods which were unknown to statisticians of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The application of these methods makes it possible to track the connections between the various indicators of types (forms) of the mass protest movement of workers in Russia, as well as to present the diversity of the internal interrelations of this movement, much more precisely than has even been done in historical research. We will thus tease out the influence of the dynamics of the economic conjuncture and financial position of workers on the development of protest movement, thus testing the role of social and political factors.

The Russian labour movement on the cusp of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been the object of voluminous research. Most scholarly attention has been trained on the political element of the movement, as well as on the social interrelations between workers (“proletariat”) and the management of the enterprises. A few studies were based on statistical materials but mainly the focus was placed on certain regions or branches of industry. The previous part of the thesis has a descriptive presentation of the available literature on the subject and its analysis. Most of these surveys relied on statistical materials collected by factory inspectors starting from year 1900. These materials constitute the bulk of available information on conflicts between workers and the management and their outcomes, according to the inspectorates’ protocol; it covers 64 provinces and 6 administrative districts, and in general only the main enterprises of the region. The data have been gathered by province, which is the unit of the statistical set of data; therefore, the data is generalized and aggregated. Materials collected by factory inspectors allow the researchers to follow the major trajectory of the strike movement with a focus on the socio-political element of the phenomenon, although due to the particularity of the source it could not be done on a very general level.

The current research is based on the materials of the two main sources available today on the labour movement and labour conflicts in Russia during the decade before the First Russian Revolution. The first set of data represents, as mentioned above, the statistical materials of the Institute of the Factory Inspectorate, while the second set of data is much more complete and covers the materials gathered in 86 funds and 29 archival depositories of the Russian Federation and from other institutions besides the Factory Inspectorate such as : the Police Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russian Empire, the Department for Defence of Public Security and Order, the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Empire, mainly in the Temporary Chancellery of Criminal Actions and Criminal Department of the First Section of the Criminal Department, Personal funds of Pleve, Milukov, Shturmer and Guchkov in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central Historical Archive of Moscow, the documents of the Senate, the State Council, the State Parliament and the Committee of Ministers in the State Archive of Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg, the documents of Department of Trade and Industry, the Mining Department and the Ministry of Finance.

Thus, the second set of data represents not only materials that are much more detailed since the unit is a labour conflict, but as well that are much more objective in comparison with the materials of the "Collection," since they were collected in multiple political institutions. In the current paper, the initial results of the analysis of the second set of data, the "Chronicle," will be presented. Since all major historical studies were based on the first source, the main source available in the past, it will be interesting and scientifically relevant to present not only the results of the analysis of more advanced materials, but as well to compare them with the ones based on the "old", "typical" source. Therefore an analysis of the first set of data as well as the complete analysis of the second set of data and their comparison will be presented.

The comparative analysis takes into account strike activity in three regions: Saint Petersburg, the Central Industrial Region and Left-Bank Ukraine. These three regions were chosen on the basis of the fact that they served as the venues for most of the strikes and involved more participants than elsewhere in the Empire. At this point, we

shall note the ongoing debate in the field of Russian labour history regarding the role and the impact of each of the above-mentioned regions on the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. The leading place is commonly awarded to Saint Petersburg. As was established in the historiographical part of current research, most studies on Russian regional labour history centre on Saint Petersburg, particularly focusing on the metal industry in the city (Kruze, Hogan and Smith). The second region that has attracted the interest of historians and other researchers working on this topic is the Central Industrial Region (CIR). After Saint Petersburg, the CIR is considered to have been the most developed in terms of labour concentration and industrial impact, as well as to have been a leader in strike activity in the Russian Empire (Belov, Pretty, Johnson). The Left-Bank region is mentioned in historical studies mainly in the context of a general strike that occurred there in 1903 (Bakulev, Bortnikov). Extremely notable is that a comparison between the regions is missing in the literature of regional labour history. Hence, filling this gap is essential for historical knowledge in the field.

Labour movements in a geographical area as large as the Russian Empire bear distinctive regional characteristics. This primarily because the regions of the Russian Empire at the turn of the century had very diverse levels of industrial development, dominance of different branches of industry, dissimilar levels of manufacturing concentrations and divergent mentalities of workers (first and foremost due to the fact that the growing class of workers had different sources of population for its recruitment). All these factors must be taken into account in any research on labour conflicts in Russia at this time.

For the comparative analysis of labour conflicts in the three defined regions, conflicts in the metalworking industry were chosen, as this was one of the most developed industries in the Russian Empire during this period. The three investigated regions are front-ranked in the metalworking industry of the Russian Empire.

The following are the major objectives of current chapter:

1) A comparative analysis of strike activity in relation to economic cycles in three regions: Petersburg, Central Industrial Region and Left-Bank Ukraine at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Our analysis will be based on the materials of the “Chronicle”.

2) An analysis of the major characteristics of the dynamics of strike activity: the quantity and the results of the strikes, number of strikers, the reasons for labour conflicts and the demands brought by workers during the conflicts. Statistical analysis of the data allows us to distil the interrelations of basic factors in strike activity in each region.

#### **4.2. *Regional specialization of Russian industry.***

Before the presentation of the data analysis, we shall delimit the range of problems taken up in the current research. The author's interest in regional specificity was spurred by the geographical as well as historical features of the country. The Russian Empire was very diverse, from social, cultural, environmental and industrial perspectives. In order for research to be representative of a country's specific features, its regional structure and variations must be taken into account. Regardless of topic, historians working in the area deal with specific features of the various districts of the Russian Empire, and this certainly must be taken into account not only for an analysis, but also for the interpretation of results.

Since the Russian Empire was spread over thousands of kilometres and included more than 80 provinces, it would be helpful to present hereby a simple table showing the regional specialization for each district of these regions at this time. The first column of the table indicates the name of the district; the second column gives information about the provinces that were included in the district and finally the third column designates the main industrial specialization of the region. For more detailed information regarding the regional specialization as well as the illustration of the amount of workers occupied in the industry for big industrial cities, one may refer to Map 1 that is found in the Appendix of the current survey.



**Table 4.2.1. Regional specialization for each district of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.**

Districts of the Russian Empire	Provinces included in the district	Industrial specialisation of the District
<b>Petersburg District</b>	Saint Petersburg, Olonets, Arkhangelsk, Novgorod, Pskov, Estonia	Textile industry, Metalworking
<b>Vilno District</b>	Vilno, Grodno, Kovno, Kurland, Livonia, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Minsk and Suwałki	Textile industry, Consumer goods manufacturing
<b>Warsaw District</b>	Congress Poland without the part of Suwałki in Vilno Military District	Textile industry, Mining
<b>Kiev District</b>	Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Kursk	Metalworking, Food industry
<b>Odessa District</b>	Bessarabia, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida	Mining, Food industry
<b>Moscow District</b>	Moscow, Smolensk, Tver, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Vologda, Vladimir, Nizhniy-Novgorod, Kaluga, Tula, Ryazan, Orel, Tambov, Voronezh	Textile industry, Metalworking
<b>Kazan District</b>	Kazan, Vyatka, Perm, Ufa, Simbirsk, Samara, Penza, Saratov, Astrakhan (with the Astrakhan, Ural and Orenburg Cossack host troops)	Mining industry, Metallurgy
<b>Caucasus District</b>	Stavropol province with the entire Caucasus and Transcaucasia (including the Kuban and Terek Cossack host troops)	Mining industry, Food industry
<b>Turkestan District</b>	Syrdar (with the Amu Dar'ya subdivision), Samarkand and Fergana	Food industry, Consumer goods Manufacturing
<b>Omsk District</b>	Tobolsk and Tomsk province, the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and Semirechye regions (with the local Cossack troops)	Food industry, Consumer goods Manufacturing
<b>Irkutsk District</b>	Irkutsk and Yeniseysk Governorates and the Yakutsk region (with the local Cossack troops).	Mining industry
<b>Amur District</b>	regions of Transbaikalia, Amur (with the local Cossack troops), Pacific coast region and the Sakhalin island	Mining industry, Metallurgy
<b>Don Host Oblast</b>		Mining, Metallurgical Industry

I. D. Kovalchenko and L. I. Borodkin<sup>172</sup> identified an agrarian and industrial typology of 50 provinces of European Russia. The results of the analysis allow us to divide, on the basis of specific characteristics and levels of economic development, the districts of the territory of the European part of the Russian Empire.

In the centre of European Russia, one may observe the industrial and agrarian area formed by five provinces: Moscow, Vladimir, Tverskaya, Yaroslavl and Kostroma. A developed industry in which textile production prevailed, was combined here with extremely backward agriculture and animal husbandry, attesting the subordination of the capitalist reorganization of the village to the needs of the city.

The region formed by the Petersburg and Baltic provinces was characterized by a high level of development of diversified manufacturing industry and agriculture. This feature was most common for the Estlyandsky and Lifyandsky provinces. In the western part of the region (the Kurlyandsky province), agriculture prevailed. In the east (Petersburg), on the contrary, industry dominated, and agriculture here combined the characteristics of both the Baltic and central industrial provinces.

The south of Russia was another region that melded large-scale industry and capitalist agriculture. Its industrial and agrarian core was the Ekaterinoslavsk province, which had turned into the largest centre of coal industry, ferrous metallurgy and

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<sup>172</sup> See: Koval'chenko I.D., Borodkin L.I. Agrarnaia tipologiia gubernii Evropeiskoi Rossii na rubezhe KHIKH—KHKH vekov: (Opyt mnogomernogo kolichestvennogo analiza) // Istoriiia SSSR. 1979. № 1. p. 59—95; Koval'chenko I.D., Borodkin L.I. Promyshlennaia tipologiia gubernii Evropeiskoi Rossii na rubezhe KHIKH—KHKH vekov: (Opyt mnogomernogo kolichestvennogo analiza po dannym promyshlennoi perepisi 1900 g.) // Matematicheskie metody v sotsial'no-ekonomicheskix i arxeologicheskix issledovaniiax. M., 1981. p. 102—128; Koval'chenko I.D., Borodkin L.I. Veroiatnaia mnogomernaia klassifikatsiia v istoricheskix issledovaniiax: (Po dannym ob agrarnoi strukture gubernii Evropeiskoi Rossii na rubezhe KHIKH—KHKH vv.) // Matematicheskie metody i EVM v istoricheskix issledovaniiax. M., 1985. p. 6—30.

metalworking. The periphery of the region, which was formed by Taurian, Kherson, Bessarabia, Podolsk, Poltava, Kharkov provinces and the Don area, and had a semi-industrial, semi-agrarian character. Notably, in the east part of the region (the Kherson, Taurian and Ekaterinoslavsk provinces, the Don area) where landowner land tenure did not play a big role, a capitalist agriculture of the peasant type gained quick prominence. In the North and the West (The Kharkov, Poltava, Podolsk, and Bessarabia provinces) the bourgeois evolution of the village on a larger scale was slowed down by the serfdom remnants. Industry development in the territories of the Kharkov, Kherson and Taurian provinces, and also the Don area, adjoining the Ekaterinoslavsk province (production of iron ore and coal, metallurgy, metal working and mechanical engineering), represented the process of the expansion of the industrial centre of the region. In the other territories of the region where the food industry prevailed, its specialization was caused mainly by the nature of the agriculture. There, the growth of beet sugar production in the northwest of the area and flour-grinding in the southeast took place.

The agro-industrial region that was comprised of the Saratov, Samara, Kazan and Orenburg provinces, was also characterized by the growth of industrial production specializing in the processing of the products of agriculture and animal husbandry, was directly connected to a quick development of capitalist-type agriculture.

These are the provinces that formed the economic region of European Russia where capitalist development reached its peak. Beyond their limits, certain large industrial centres were surrounded by territories where a backward agricultural economy prevailed, burdened as it was by the remnants of serfdom.

Outside European Russia in the West, in the Kingdom of Poland, there were three accurately localized industries in the geographical map of the region. Textile industry prevailed in Lodz, Pabyanitsa and Egezh. The centre for the mining and metallurgical industry was in Sosnowiec and Dombrov, while for the metalworking industry it was in Warsaw. Alongside these regions, development was propagated by a

branch of an industrial production connected with the village only through the consumer market, and the formation and growth directly reflected the process of a commoditization of agriculture: distilling, beet sugar, flour-grinding, wood-processing. European Russia and the Kingdom of Poland gave over nine-tenths of whole-Russian collected grain and as much of the industrial output.

The other territories of Russia were guided more and more by the needs of the mother country and foreign demand, as their economic development was highly influenced by the Russian, and also partly the world market. They were brought to be suppliers of minerals and raw materials, livestock products and agriculture. And though this process was in its initial stage, it had already led to the creation of such a huge oil-extracting and oil-processing centre as Baku; to the development of a cotton breeding and the cotton ginnery industry in Central Asia; to the emergence of dairy animal husbandry and butter manufacture in Western Siberia; and to gold mining growth in Eastern Siberia and other centres.

#### ***4.3. The choice of regions***

The choice of the regional framework of the current comparative analysis is based on the fact that three investigated regions - Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and Central Industrial Region – are included in the first five of the most developed industrial centres of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, they are comparable. Further, the chosen research regions were the leaders in the number of strikers within the whole territory of the Russian Empire.

The main industrial centres and regions were situated in the European part of Russian Empire. The three examined regions are in the top five most-developed industrial regions of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first place is undoubtedly taken by the CIR, with Moscow Province at the head, where the quantity of workers reaches 550-580 thousand workers<sup>173</sup>. In second place for industrial development in the Russian Empire is the Ural region – 500 thousand workers<sup>174</sup>. The third place is taken by Ukraine – 327 thousand of workers<sup>175</sup>. And finally the fourth place is occupied by Petersburg, with 288 thousand of workers<sup>176</sup>.

The region of Left-Bank Ukraine included five provinces: Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kharkov, Kherson, and Chernigov provinces. A Centrally-industrial region integrated nine provinces: Moscow, Vladimir, and Tver', Nijegorodsk, Kostroma, Ryazan, Kaluga, Yaroslavl and Smolensk provinces.

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<sup>173</sup> Vasil'ev B.N. CHislennost', sostav i territorial'noe razmeshchenie fabrichno-zavodskogo proletariata Evropeïskoï Rossii v kontse 19 – nachale 20 v // Istorii SSSR. 1976. №1. p. 102-103.

<sup>174</sup> Gavrilov D.V. Rabochie Urala v period domonopolisticheskogo kapitalizma, 1861-1900; (CHislennost', sostav, polozhenie). M., 1985, p. 46

<sup>175</sup> Los' F.E Formirovanie rabocheho klassa na Ukraine i ego revoliutsionnaïa bor'ba v kontse 19 i nachale 20 stoletii (konets 19 st. – 1904g.), Kiev., 1955. p. 82

<sup>176</sup> Istorii rabochix Leningrada: V 2 t. L., 1972. T. 1. p. 182

For the comparative analysis of the three defined regions, labour conflicts were chosen in the metalworking industries. This choice was determined by two factors. First, of all Russian industries of that time, metalworking was one of the most developed industries, and the motive force for the first phase of Russian industrialization. Second, the regions were chosen in spite of the fact that geographically they were situated in three quite different zones of the Russian Empire and had many diverse characteristics; they remain comparable because all of them were the leaders precisely in the metal-working industry of the Russian Empire.

At this point, we shall briefly describe the metalworking industry. A more detailed description of the features of the Russian metalworking industry will be presented slightly further on in the chapter.

***Composition of VIII group of productions on productively-branch classification according to Varzar***<sup>177</sup> 1) Factories with their own blast furnaces; 2) Factories without blast furnaces; 3) Agricultural mechanical engineering; 4) Factories processing iron and steel; 5) Factories processing non-ferrous metals; and 6) Production of a dynamo engines and electric motors.

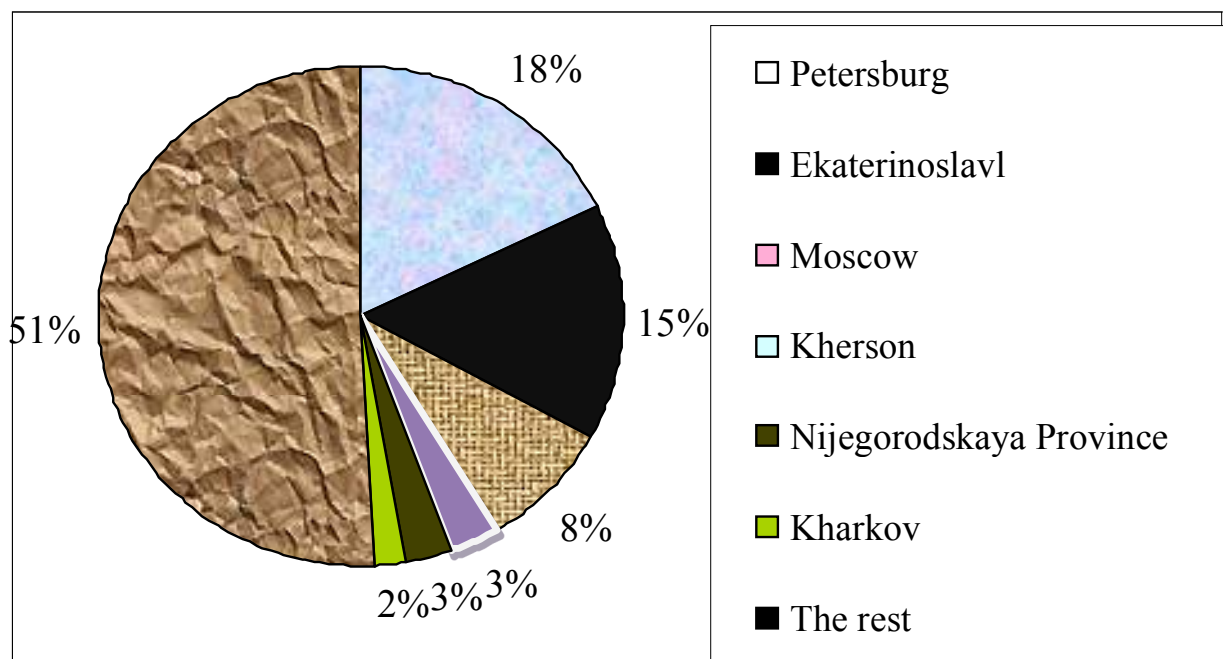
The first position is taken by the enterprises of heavy metallurgy, and the other five groups of production relate mainly to engineering or metalworking. Below, the chart illustrates the shares of the main regions in the metalworking industry of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We can see that Petersburg and Ekaterinoslav (the province in Left-bank Ukraine) are the largest producers in this area<sup>178</sup>.

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<sup>177</sup> Voronkova S. V. Rossijskaia promyshlennost' nachala 20 veka: istochniki i metody izucheniia. M., 1996. p. 188.

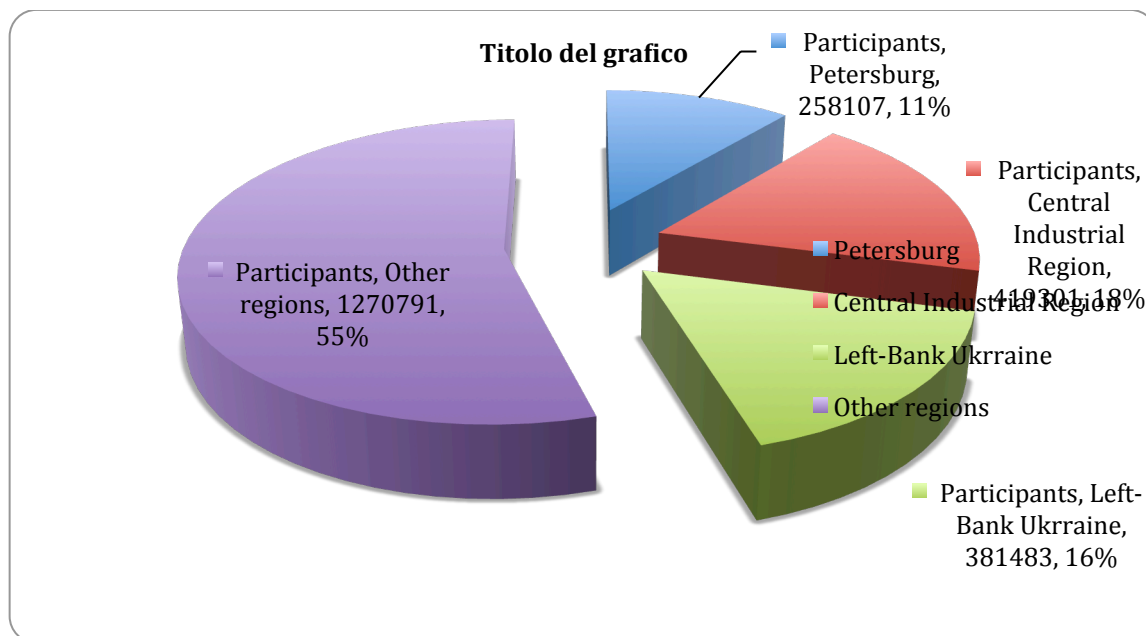
<sup>178</sup> Voronkova S. V. Rossijskaia promyshlennost' nachala 20 veka: istochniki i metody izucheniia. M., 1996. p. 127.

**Chart 4.3.1. Share of the major regions in the metal working branch of industry of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th centuries.**



Regarding the regions chosen as a subject of our research, it is notable as well that these three regions were in the front line not only of industrial production and concentration of workers for wage labour, but also for number of strikers in the whole of the Russian Empire.

**Chart. 4.3.2. General quantity of strikers in Russian industry by province in years 1895-1904.**



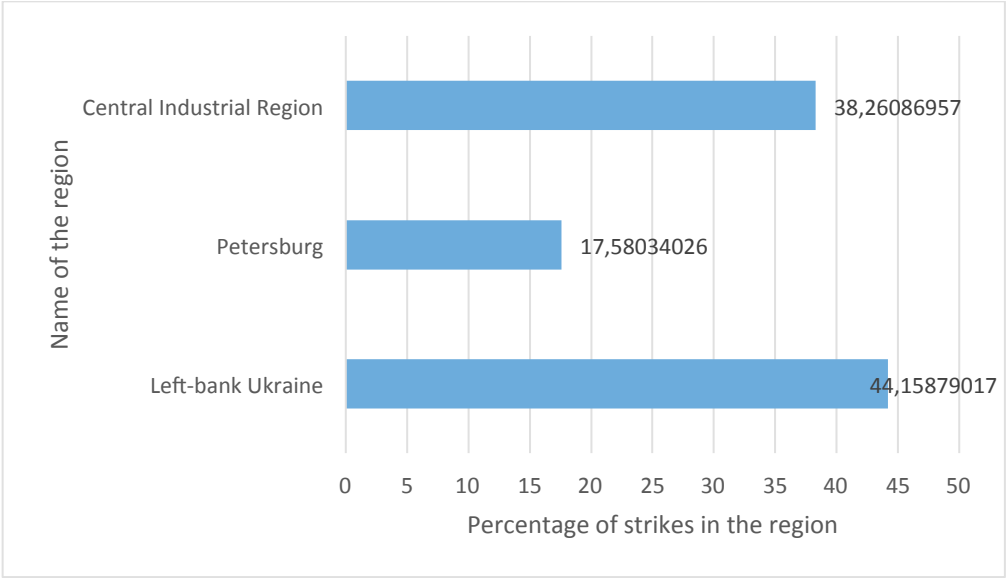
The chart above shows that 17% of all strikers fell to the share of provinces of the CIR in the country in total, according to the data collected for ten years. In this region, the leaders were the Moscow province (more than 7% of strikers across Russia as a whole), and also the Vladimir Province (more than 5%), Tver' Province (more than 1.7%), Ryazan' Province (1.7%) and Kostroma provinces (more than 1.6%). In second place is Left-bank Ukraine – 13.8% of the total number of strikers in the country. Thus, the Ekaterinoslavsk province gave more than 7% of all strikers, Kherson Province – more than 5%, Kharkov Province – 1.8%. Petersburg province was the leader among all other Russian provinces at the turn of the century in number of strikers – it alone had more than 11% of all strikers within 10 years in the country<sup>179</sup>.

<sup>179</sup> Pushkareva I.M. Vozvrashchenie k zabytoĭ teme: massovoe rabochee dvizhenie v nachale 20 veka // Istorioġrafiia, istochnikovedenie, metody istoricheskogo issledovaniia // Otechestvennaia istoriia. 2007. №2. p. 105.



The graph below reflects the quantity of the recorded labour conflicts in each region within the designated chronological framework. It is obvious that the largest number of strikes took place in Left-bank Ukraine, and a smaller quantity in CIR and Petersburg.

**Graph 4.3.3. Quantity of labour conflicts recorded by "The chronicle of labour movement" of the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, Central Industrial Region and Petersburg from 1895 to 1904.**



#### ***4.4. Comparative analysis of the dynamics of labour conflicts in the framework of the phases of business cycles in Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and Central Industrial Region***

The results of the computerized statistical analysis of data contained in the database of the "Chronicle" are presented in this paragraph. The analysis includes the labour conflicts in the enterprises of the metalworking industry in Petersburg, the CIR and Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903. While in the current chapter the dynamics of the labour conflicts in these regions is analysed, the following chapter of our work will be devoted to a structural analysis of the labour conflicts.

The main objective at this stage of the research is to identify the indicators that characterize the dynamics of strike activity in Petersburg, the CIR and Left-bank Ukraine. A comparison of the dynamics of strike activity between these three regions and the interpretation of the differences constitutes the next stage of the research.

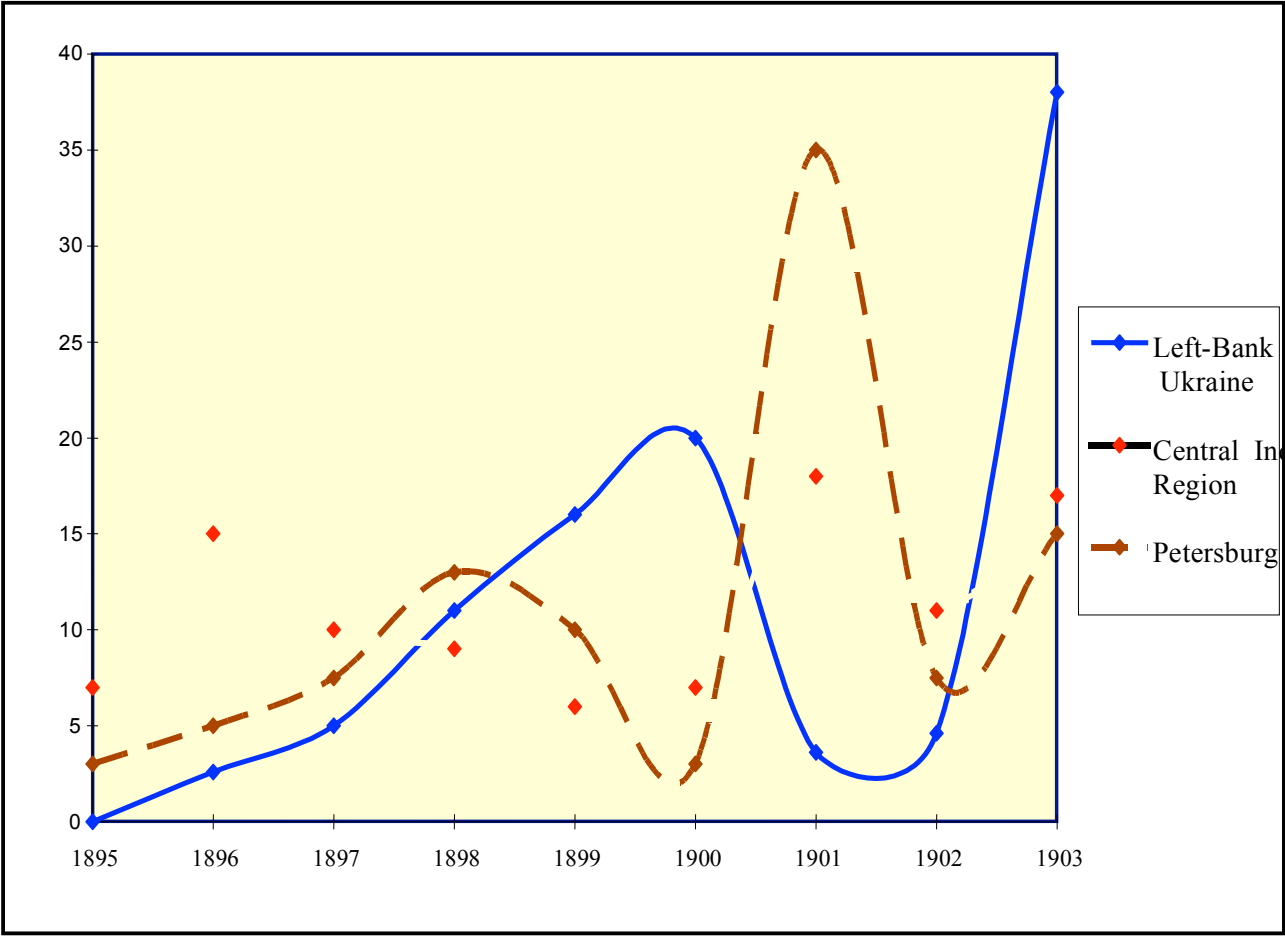
Tracking the dynamics of strike activity during the period from 1895 to 1903 in the three studied regions is very relevant. This time frame best characterizes the regional specifics and features of pre-revolutionary labour movement development in Russian industry. Our period of interest is not consistent with respect to economic development, as in 1901 and in 1900 there were obvious signs of an economic depression in Russia, when production in all branches of industry significantly decreased.

We shall test the following hypothesis: Workers during the crisis were triggered by their grievances, thus exacerbating their struggle (economic hardship and business cycle theories).

Thus, the analysis of information entered in the constructed database regarding 1274 labour conflicts at the enterprises of the metalworking industry in Petersburg, the CIR and Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903 yielded the following results. The graph

reflecting the dynamics of the yearly number of strikes in the metalworking industry in the CIR, Petersburg and Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 for 1903 is presented below.

**Graph 4.4.1. Dynamics of yearly quantity of labour conflicts in the metal-working industry in the Central Industrial Region, Petersburg and Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903.**



The graph reflects different types of strike dynamics in the enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and Central Industrial Region. As can be seen, until 1898 the dynamics of labour conflict activity in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg practically coincides – the indicators gradually rise. The trend reflecting the dynamics of strike

activity in the CIR is a little different – in 1896 the indicators increase, and by 1898 they essentially revert to where they were in year 1895.

An economic depression was looming in Russia already during the summer of 1899. This depression was accompanied by growing mass unemployment, deterioration of working conditions, and the financial failure of a great number of small and mid-size businesses. This economic stagnation began to brew and showed up most strongly in the falling of metallurgical production; that is, in the reduction and in some cases bankruptcy of the enterprises related with this production. In order to survive in the capitalist market, business owners resorted to a temporary closing of factories, reduction of daily labour hours and last but not least salary reductions. As an illustration, in total within the years of this depression, about three thousand factories were shut down completely.

Legislation pertaining to the length of the work day and overtime labour passed on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1897 was not in favour of business owners. Thus, they used "surplus" and low-cost labour, compelling workers to accept inadequate working conditions.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of 1899, from the general dynamics of development of strike activity in the Russian Empire, Left-bank Ukraine is in the clear lead. The trend in Graph 3 shows that the development of the strike movement takes two trajectories, which, it should be noted, headed in quite opposite directions. One trajectory represents the dynamics of labour conflict activity in Left-bank Ukraine, the other, in Petersburg and the CIR.

Overall, 1899 saw a retardation of Russian labour movement growth after its spectacular rise from the mid-1890s. This was related to a conjoining of two circumstances. On the one hand, it was the end of an ascending stage of an industrial cycle of development of the world capitalism that had arrived in Russia later than in other large European countries; on the other hand, this stage was immediately followed by an economic depression of very particular force.

Interestingly, Left-bank Ukraine does not follow the general tendency of the dynamics of strike activity across the Russian territories at the turn of the century. And Left-bank Ukraine was in the third place on the scale of labour strikes across all country. In Ekaterinoslavsk, Poltava, Chernigov and Kherson provinces there were 92 strikes in which more than 22 thousand people participated. The strike in Ekaterinoslav in July 1899 was the largest: two thousand workers of railway workshops with the demand to be paid holiday wages according to a law that went into effect on June 2, 1897 went on strike.

In 1900, the general recession of the Russian grass-roots labour movement continued. Factories verged on bankruptcy; especially small and medium-sized enterprises. As they had done in 1899, owners resorted ever more frequently to mass dismissal of workers and wage reductions. Quite often there were encroachments from the side of the owners on the duration of the work day.

Unexpected termination of production and work at the enterprises aggravated an already difficult national economy. In 1900, a special address to senior factory inspectors was issued, and signed by the Minister of Finance Vitte. There, "in addition" to former orders of the government, inspectors were instructed "to take all dependent measures for the elimination of those conditions of a factory situation of separate industrial institutions which could serve for workers as an occasion to cessation of work"<sup>180</sup>.

Thought should be given to the character of the regional dynamics of the labour conflicts revealed in the current chapter. Essentially, the dynamics of strike activity recorded in Left-bank Ukraine and two central industrial Russian regions – Petersburg

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<sup>180</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. KHronika. Vy'p. VI «1900 god»; (Redaqtor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. ZHeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmy'qov i dr.) M., 1999. p. 5.

and CIR not only differ from one other, each having its particular characteristics, but are actually antithetical to one another.

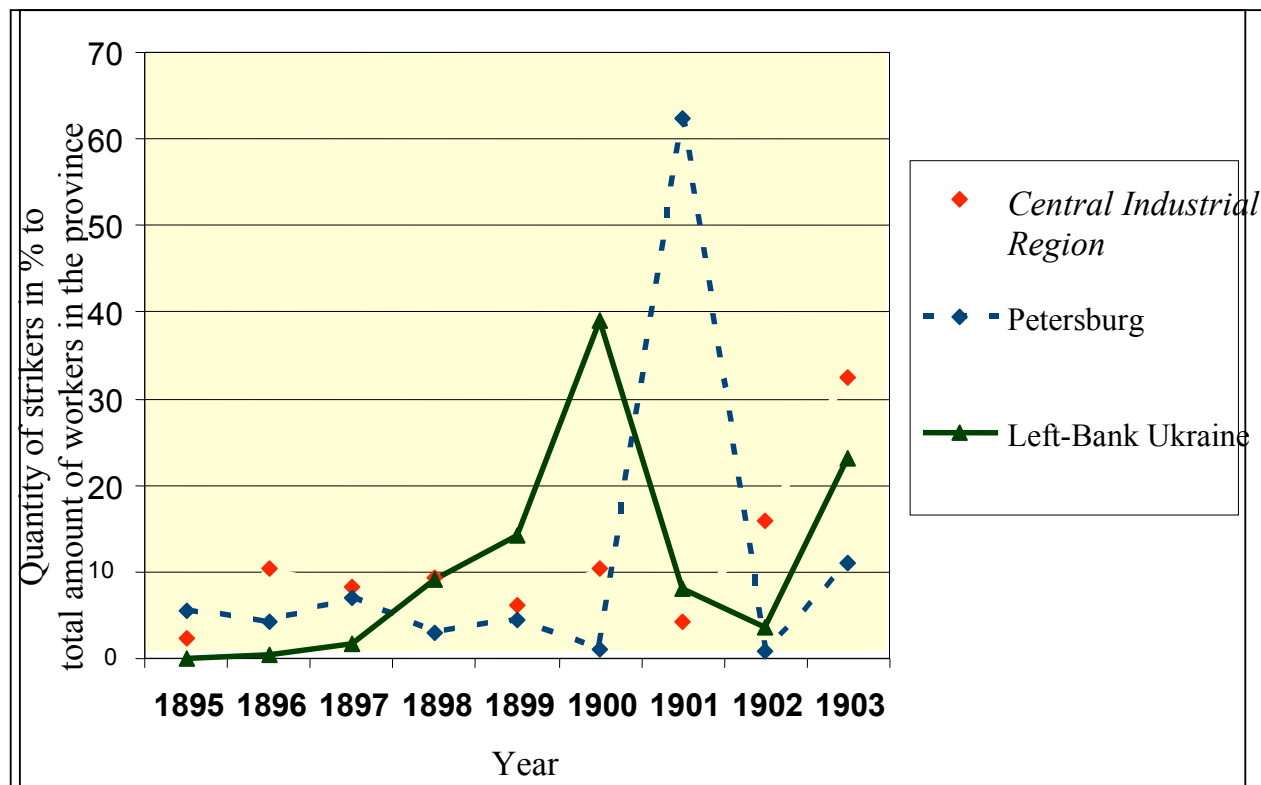
The years 1900-1902 put this fact into sharp relief. Within these years, strike activity in Left-bank Ukraine dwindled to nearly nothing, while in the CIR and especially in Petersburg, metalworkers sharply strengthened their labour conflict activity (Graph 3). In such a way, the number of the labour conflicts for this period in Petersburg grew from four labour conflicts in 1900 to forty-two labour conflicts in 1901. Thus, in the year of economic crisis, the wave of strikes in Petersburg and the CIR was at its maximum, in contrast with Left-Bank Ukraine, where it was at its minimum.

In order to test the previous findings regarding the antithetical nature of strike activity in the three main regions of the Russian Empire at the turn of the century, a structural graph displaying the percent of participants in labour conflicts per year in a particular region of the total number of strikers in this area from 1895 to 1903 was constructed (see Graph 4). This graph leads us to the same results. It is obvious that the dynamics of strike activity in Petersburg and in Left-bank Ukraine are in an anti-phase during the years of this period's economic crisis. As for strike activity in the CIR, no strong fluctuations in it can be observed until 1901. From the time that the depression damaged most of the branches of production of Russian industry, strike activity in CIR sharply increases, and by 1903 it reaches its maximum value in the studied period.

Judging by number of strikers in the metalworking industry, Petersburg is the leader. The peak value falls in 1901, as can be seen in the graph below. This results from the fact that the metalworkers of Petersburg by quantity win first place across

Russia, and constituted at this time the largest army of workers in the metal-working branch in the country (17%), and in mechanical engineering (up to 19%)<sup>181</sup>.

**Graph 4.4.2. Dynamics of yearly number of participants of the conflicts in the metal-working branch of the Russian industry in the Central Industrial Region, Petersburg and Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903 in percent a ratio**



<sup>181</sup> For more details see.: Kruze E`.E`. Polozhenie rabocheho classa Rossii v 1900-1914 gg.

Leningrad, 1976. p. 67-68.

#### 4.4.1. *Interpretation of regional distinctions of the dynamics of the labour conflicts.*

The phenomenon of regional differences in the dynamics of labour conflicts revealed by this research is related in many respects to the production structure in the Russian regions and Left-bank Ukraine.

Here we may think about the classification of the branches of industry and factory manufacturing. The groundwork for this task was laid during industrial censuses, with the classification of branches approved during the inspection of 1895, and that system of distinctive signs of manufacturing, production and their grouping which was offered in 1898 by specialists led by the well-known territorial statistician V.E.Varzar, who was invited in the 1890s by the Ministry of Finance to organize statistical research pertaining to the industry. The main characteristic or type of production was chosen: a processed material, a way of processing, including the nature of the technological process and the purpose of the manufactured products<sup>182</sup>. During all three censuses in the Russian Empire, Russian industry was subdivided into 12 primary branches (groups of productions). The eighth group was represented by the metalworking industry, upon which we are concentrating in this chapter.

However, Varzar's systematization, while accurately reflecting the structure of Russian industry, was at the same time very general and reduced to an identical set of various kinds of industrial productions.

In Russia, two groups of production – metallurgy and metalworking - were united into one group of industry – the metalworking branch. Thus, the VIII branch of production united two noticeably different (by character of manufacturing) branches of

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<sup>182</sup> For more details see: Varzar V.E. Vospominaniia starogo statistika // Metodologicheskie voprosy v ekonomicheskoi statistike. M., 1976. p. 197-200.



industry. In Western Europe, by way of contrast, these two branches of production were divided into two branches of industrial production.

Left-bank Ukraine was part of the southern mining region of Russia. Its profile – the leading coal and metallurgical centre of the country - finally developed in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, ferrous metallurgy of the Donetsk pool melted about 74% of all cast iron and 63% of all steel<sup>183</sup>. In this way, while the main enterprises in this branch of Left-bank Ukraine had a metallurgical profile, in the factories of Petersburg the branch had mainly a metalworking and mechanical-engineering profile; this essentially describes the enterprises of the CIR as well. The following data can illustrate: by 1900, of the 163 enterprises in Petersburg, as many as 51 plants that employed 80% of metalworkers were of a machine-building kind<sup>184</sup>.

This specific characteristics of production to a great extent influenced the structure of the workers. Thus, in Petersburg the bulk of metalworkers were competent, well-qualified, and relatively educated, class-conscious and organized. Indeed, the workers in the capital for many years won first place in literacy levels for the entire country. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 82% of male workers and 56% of female workers in Petersburg were literate<sup>185</sup>. They worked at such enterprises as: Putilovsky, Nevsky ship-building, Metal, Ayvaz, Old and New Lessner, Parviaynen, Car-building, Langenzipen, the Volcano, the Phoenix, Nobel, Siemens-Shukkert, Siemens and Galsk, Cable. The majority of workers were literate, and were not only subscribers and readers of labour newspapers and magazines, but also constituted the main correspondents of these periodicals. This no doubt influenced the high level of labour-consciousness and

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<sup>183</sup> Livshits R.S. Razmeshchenie promyshlennosti v dorevoliutsionnoï Rossii, p. 208.

<sup>184</sup> Podrobnее sm.: Kruze E.E. Polozhenie rabochego klassa Rossii v 1900-1914 gg. Leningrad, 1976. p. 67-68.

<sup>185</sup> Kruze E.E. Peterburgskie rabochie v 1912-1914 godax. M. – L., 1961, p. 89.

organization skills of workers in Petersburg. Their solidarity in the years of crisis also was reflected in the dynamics of a number of strikes, which is illustrated in the graphs presented above (Fig. 3-4.).

However, workers at smelting factories were in the main not very highly qualified, engaged as they were in monotonous and rough work. The duration of the work day in the smelting industry in the south of Russia was regulated not so much by Russian labour legislation, as much as by many conditions of production and the norms of a common law dictated first of all by the desire of businessmen to squeeze out of the worker as much surplus labour value as possible<sup>186</sup>.

Smelting involved continuous labour. It caused special stability in metallurgy of the 12-hour work day with a break for lunch and rest for 0.5 - 1 hour in operations that demanded the exertion of physical energy throughout the entire shift (a ditch and a mining yard; hammers, rolling mills, and so on in forge and rolling productions). There was no precisely regulated time for a lunch break at those stages of production. In smelting because of certain specific conditions of production the worker had to exert constant extensive muscular force (blast, martin, crucible, heating furnaces and subsidiary devices).

This was strongly reflected in certain reactions of worker-metallurgists to the economic crisis accompanied by fall of wages, salary wages and mass dismissals. Unlike in Petersburg, where metalworkers during the economic crisis, on the contrary, showed solidarity and acted together as "one flank", making general demands, workers in the metallurgical industry of Left-bank Ukraine feared for their jobs and their small but steadily paid salary, and organized no strikes or demonstrations.

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<sup>186</sup> See.: *CHërnaia metallurgiiâ ÎUga Rossii*. M., 1953. p. 195.

The growth of the mass strike labour movement at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was connected to the depression, which saw mass dismissals and unemployment. All of these were accompanied by the growth of labour solidarity.

The dynamics of labour conflicts for 1903 need clarification, since as can be seen from the results of the comparative analysis, the labour movement in all three regions experienced a sharp rise during this year.

Despite the tenacity of the depression, 1903 caused a stir of previously unknown proportions for the Russian labour movement. The general summer strikes in the south of the country paralyzed life in ten cities, and stopped work in factories, oil fields, railways and craft workshops. No country in the world had experienced this at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Strikes in Russia also caused considerable public response in other countries.

By 1903, the economic depression reached its apogee everywhere, in all branches of Russian industrial production. In the three previous years over three thousand (mostly small) enterprises closed, at which 112 thousand workers had been employed<sup>187</sup>. The crisis accelerated the process of the concentration of production that promoted the unification of workers, both self-organized, and directed by party committees and groups.

Graph 3 illustrates the increase of labour conflicts in the CIR and Petersburg, and the peak of strike activity in Left-bank Ukraine already by the beginning of 1903. What explains the growth of the dynamics of strike activity in all three regions in 1903 was the increase in number of large collective strikes in the country. On May 1<sup>st</sup>, workers of

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<sup>187</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. KHronika. Vy`p. IX «1903 god». (Redaqtor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. ZHeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmy`qov i dr.) M., 1992-2005. p. 6.

the main locomotive and carriage workshops, Aleksandrovsky (mechanical) and Obukhovsky (steelmaking) plants went on strike in Petersburg; in June workers at the Vestingauz plant went on strike. In Kherson province on May Day there was a strike in Nikolaev, with more than 3 thousand workers of the shipbuilding plant "Nawal" participating, and at the end of May at the same plant more than 3.7 thousand workers joined the general strike.

The 1903 explosion of strike movement played a considerable role in the unbinding of the imperial government in the "small victorious war" with Japan. The year 1903 saw 44% of strikes and 47% of strikers in nine years (1895-1903) across the entire Russian Empire. In 1903, strikes broke out in no fewer than 383 locations, including 43 provincial, 63 district and 7 other cities<sup>188</sup>.

The general strikes of July-August in 1903 in the south of Russia showed the accruing force of the association of masses for the purpose of protection of their economic interests in a combination of strike struggle with the other forms of mass protest – meetings, gatherings, excitements and demonstrations.

The majority of the city general strikes took place in Little Russian provinces. On July 1, a general strike in Kherson province involved 280 enterprises and more than twenty-seven thousand workers of Odessa. Superiority in strikes belongs to the port and railroad workers of the south-western railroads. Despite the urgent entry to the city of the military and troops of Cossacks sent to close down establishments of state value, life in the city was completely stopped from July 16-17. On July 21, a message about the beginning of a general strike in Nikolaev was received – 3/3 thousand workers of the "Nawal" factory, the Black Sea mechanical and wood-hydrolysis alcohol plants

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<sup>188</sup> Pushkareva I.M. Vozvrashchenie k zabytoi teme: massovoe rabochee dvizhenie v nachale 20 veka // Istoriohrafii, istochnikovedenie, metody istoricheskogo issledovaniia // Otechestvennaia istoriia. 2007. №2. p. 106

went on strike. The Nikolaev strike continued until July 23, and ended together with the end of the strike in Odessa.

In the Ekaterinoslavsk province, from August 8 a general strike was joined by more than four thousand workers of the town Amur-Nizhnedneprovsk, among them metalworkers as well as workers of pipe-rolling, machine-building, stumpage and other plants, workers of forest piers and craft workshops. Within only two days, the general strike counted nearly 16.5 thousand Ekaterinoslav workers.

Notably, every general strike was pushed forward by collective professional strikes, for example, the ship-building and mechanical industries in Nikolaev. In the general strikes of southern Russia, the organizing role of transport, and specifically, railway, workers was clear. General strikes in Russia at the time have are illustrating raising and developing sense of solidarity among workers. The role of political organizations and parties has its share, but to the greatest extend, Russian general strikes by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century were driven from blow. It is interesting to note, that the similar features are characterising general strikes in France in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>189</sup>, although French society had developed trade unions and political identity much earlier than it appeared to take place in Russia.

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<sup>189</sup> Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), p.315.

#### **4.4.2. Conclusions**

We can identify the ideas that have developed in labour history, and the stereotypical notions of their importance in the mass labour movement. Many researchers have come to the conclusion that historians taking into account data on the activity of Social Democratic organizations almost automatically assign first place to the labour struggle in the Petersburg and Moscow districts<sup>190</sup>. Our analysis of the "Chronicle" database does not confirm this assumption, by total number of strikers for 1895-1898 and 1901, and within a decade as a whole. We discovered that as far as strike activity is concerned, the south of Russia bested these two capital-type regions, pushing aside even the CIR.

The indicators for 1903 provide strong support for this idea. Judging by the quantity of different forms of mass worker actions, and especially by the participation in the labour conflicts and by the number of strikers, Left-bank Ukraine was in the lead. In Ukraine, 102.2 thousand persons participated in labour conflicts; this is 30% of the total number of strikers in the country. As well as in other years, the greatest number – 239 labour conflicts at individual and 16 at collective enterprises – took place in the Kherson province. The number of strikers here reached 47.3 thousand, largely by virtue of the July general strike in Odessa and strikes at the Nawal plant in Nikolaev – 49 labour conflicts at individual and 8 at collective enterprises were undertaken by the metalworkers of the Ekaterinoslavsk province.

Thus, we conclude that along with the well-known and conventional centres of strike activity, one more centre comes to light: the south of Russia – Left-bank Ukraine. This region, by force and scale of further strike development, did not concede its place

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<sup>190</sup> См.: Pushkareva I.M. Vozvrashchenie k zabytoĭ teme: massovoe rabochee dvizhenie v nachale 20 veka // Istorioġrafiia, istochnikovedenie, metody istoricheskogo issledovaniia // Otechestvennaia istoriia. 2007. №2. p. 105

to, and in some respects even outdistanced two prominent strike centres in the Russian Empire – Petersburg and the CIR.

At this point, we shall take note of some previously unrecognized labour conflict regional dynamics that are revealed in the current chapter. We can observe two opposite developmental trends in the conduct of metalworkers in our three regions of interest during the depression that took place on the cusp of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As was shown, in this period, strike activity increased in the CIR and Petersburg factories, and workers organized and actively participated in collective and group strikes. At the same time at the Left-bank Ukraine factories, strike activity effectively ceased. Perhaps, in periods of mass unemployment, worker-metallurgists dared not declare their discontent, concerned as they were of dismissal. Clearly then, the theory of economic hardship is not borne out by the experience workers in Left-Bank Ukraine: not only did economic strain fail to precipitate strike activity there, hardship set the stage for a nearly complete termination of it. Nonetheless, this theory is supported by the experience of workers in the CIR, as well as of Petersburg. Hence, the deterioration of material well-being in certain cases led to protest and collective action.

In 1903, strike activity increased in all three studied regions, and the number of labour conflicts sharply increased. This is especially well illustrated by the trajectory of labour-conflict dynamics in Left-bank Ukraine (Graph 3). In this year, the number of labour conflicts in this area reaches its peak value: 113.

Further, cultural and ethnic features did not cause the variations in regional labour-conflict dynamics that we observe when comparing Left-bank Ukraine with the CIR and Petersburg. Rather, these were mainly consequent to the nature of production in these regions, and thus the mentality of workers themselves.

#### **4.5. Structural measurement of the labour conflicts in Petersburg, the Central Industrial Region and Left-bank Ukraine (1895-1903)**

In this paragraph, we intend to determine the internal structure of the strike movement at the enterprises of the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, the CIR and Petersburg in 1895-1903.

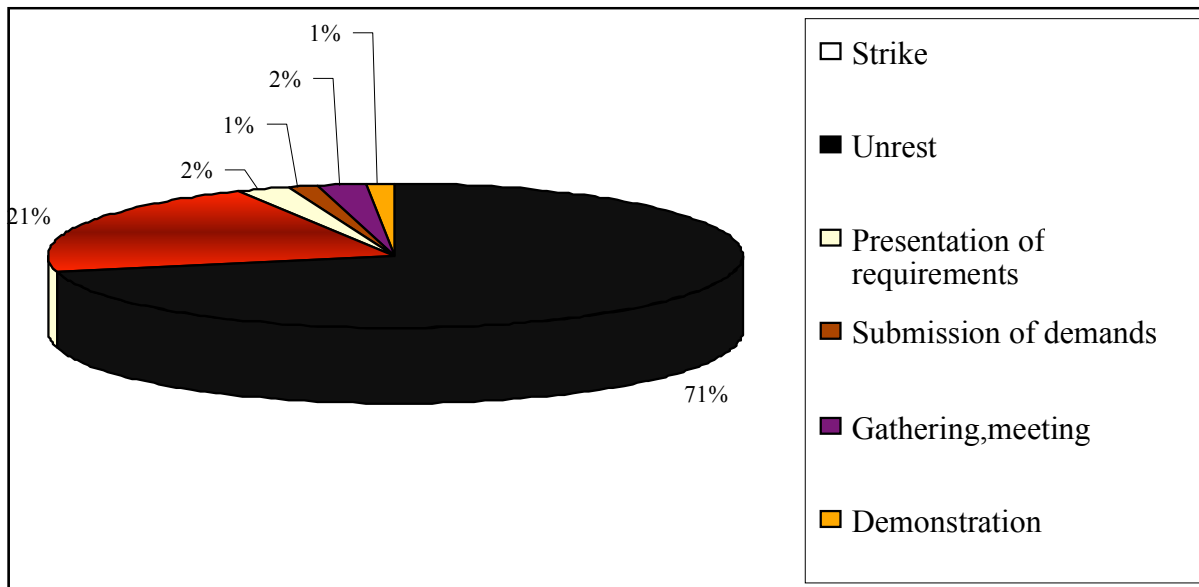
Specifically, we plan to ascertain whether or not substantial differences can be observed in the structure of the strike movement at the enterprises of these three regions. In order to do so, we analyse the main characteristics of the labour conflicts: worker demands, reasons for the labour conflict, degree of spontaneity, organization of demonstrations and results of the labour conflict.

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In the first stage, we shall consider the distribution of types of labour conflicts in the three studied regions. The descriptions of labour conflicts presented in the "Chronicle" provide us with information on the form of the labour conflict that was considered when developing the "Chronicle" database where the separate information field reflecting this branch was created. On the basis of the analysis of the "Chronicle" database, the chart reflecting the distribution of forms of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry from 1895 to 1903 on the studied areas was constructed.



**Chart 4.5.1. Distribution of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry from 1895 to 1903 in Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the Central Industrial Region**

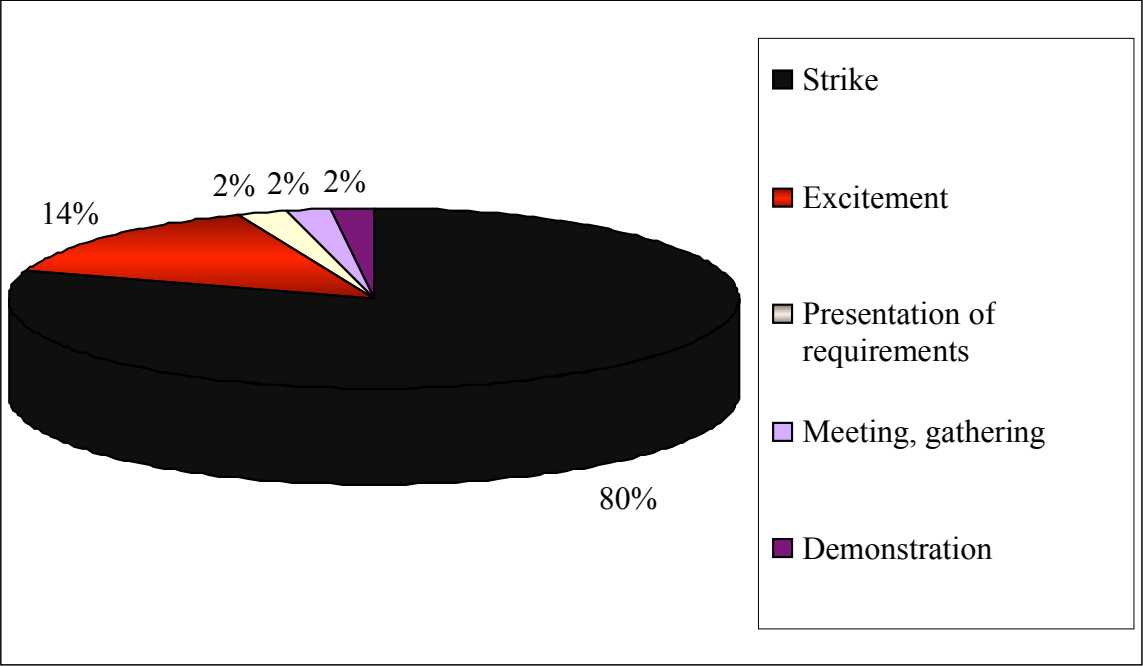


It is clear from the chart presented above that the majority of labour conflicts in the three studied areas took the form of strikes, which comprised 71% of the total number of labour conflicts. "Excitement" comprised 21%, the second most frequent form of labour conflict. Further, other forms of labour conflict are evident, such as presentations of demands, and general and May Day meetings. Each form of labour conflict is presented by two percent of the total number of labour conflicts in the three regions. The least-widespread forms were demonstrations, meetings and submission of complaints, which constituted only one percent of the total number of labour conflicts in the metalworking industry in the regions of interest from 1895 to 1903.

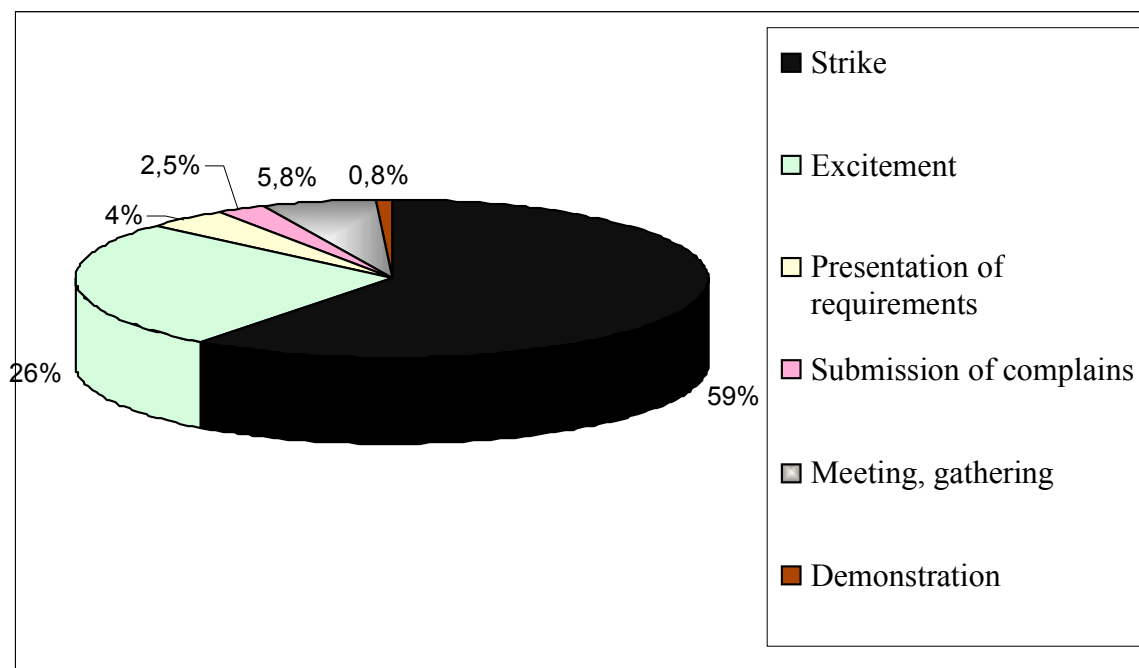
For the identification of regionally specific features of labour conflicts in these areas, similar charts for each were constructed. The charts clarify that the strike was the

most widespread form of labour conflict in all three regions, while second place was taken by rally.

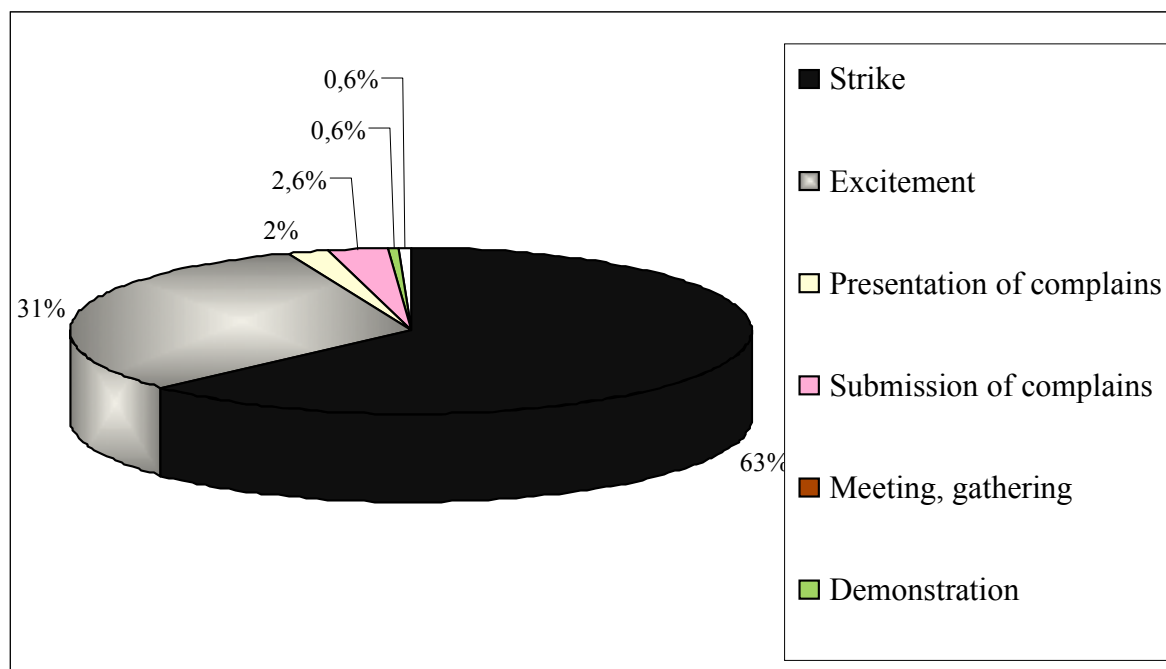
*Chart 4.5.2. Distribution of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry from 1895 to 1903 in Left-bank Ukraine*



**Chart 4.5.3. Distribution of labour conflicts in metalworking branch of Russian industry from 1895 to 1903 in Petersburg**



**Chart 4.5.4. Distribution of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry from 1895 to 1903 in Central Industrial Region**



In Left-bank Ukraine, strikes made up 80% of the total number of labour conflicts; in Petersburg – only 59%; in the CIR – 63%. Excitement made up 14% in Left-bank Ukraine, 26% in Petersburg; in the CIR, labour conflict in the form of excitement has an indicator twice exceeding the indicator in Left-bank Ukraine – 31% of the total number of labour conflicts.

All other expressions of labour conflict presentation of demands, submission of complaints, applications, meetings, gatherings, May Day rallies, demonstrations in all three regions occurred infrequently, which, depending on the region, varies from 0.6% to 2% of the total number of labour conflicts. However, in Petersburg, expressions of labour conflicts such as meetings, gatherings and May Day rallies equals 5.8% of the total number of labour conflicts, which exceeds the 2% and 0.6% that they reached in Left-bank Ukraine and the Central Industrial region respectively.

Thus, it is possible to speak with confidence about the existence of regional specifics of distribution of expression of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the CIR from 1895 to 1903.

***4.5.1. Comparative analysis of the demands made by workers during labour conflicts at the enterprises of a metalworking industry in Left-bank Ukraine, Central Industrial Region and Petersburg.***

Worker demands during labour conflicts are of great historical interest, because they proceed from the workers themselves. For our purposes, it is essential that these demands were recorded during the time of the labour conflict, and fully reflect the worker grievance. This includes the taking into account of how the demands were handled vis-a-vis the labour structure and the administration of the business.

Almost every description of a labour conflict presented in the "Chronicle" includes a list of demands made by workers during the strike. We entered these demands into a database, after which they were formalized (the complete list of requirements and all their coding is found in Table 5, which is presented in the introductory part of the thesis). An analysis of the data reveals typical demands for the three regions of study.

For each area, a chart reflecting the frequency of request for each demand from 1895 for 1903 was constructed.

An analysis of the demands made by workers of the three regions yielded an interesting finding. It appears that despite a wide range of demands (26 in all), the first places in frequency took five identical demands for all three studied regions. These were coded 1, 2, 5, 13, and 8.

The table below represents the most popular demands in the three analysed regions in the Russian Empire.

**Table 4.5.5. The coding of demands of workers with the highest occurrence, made during labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry**

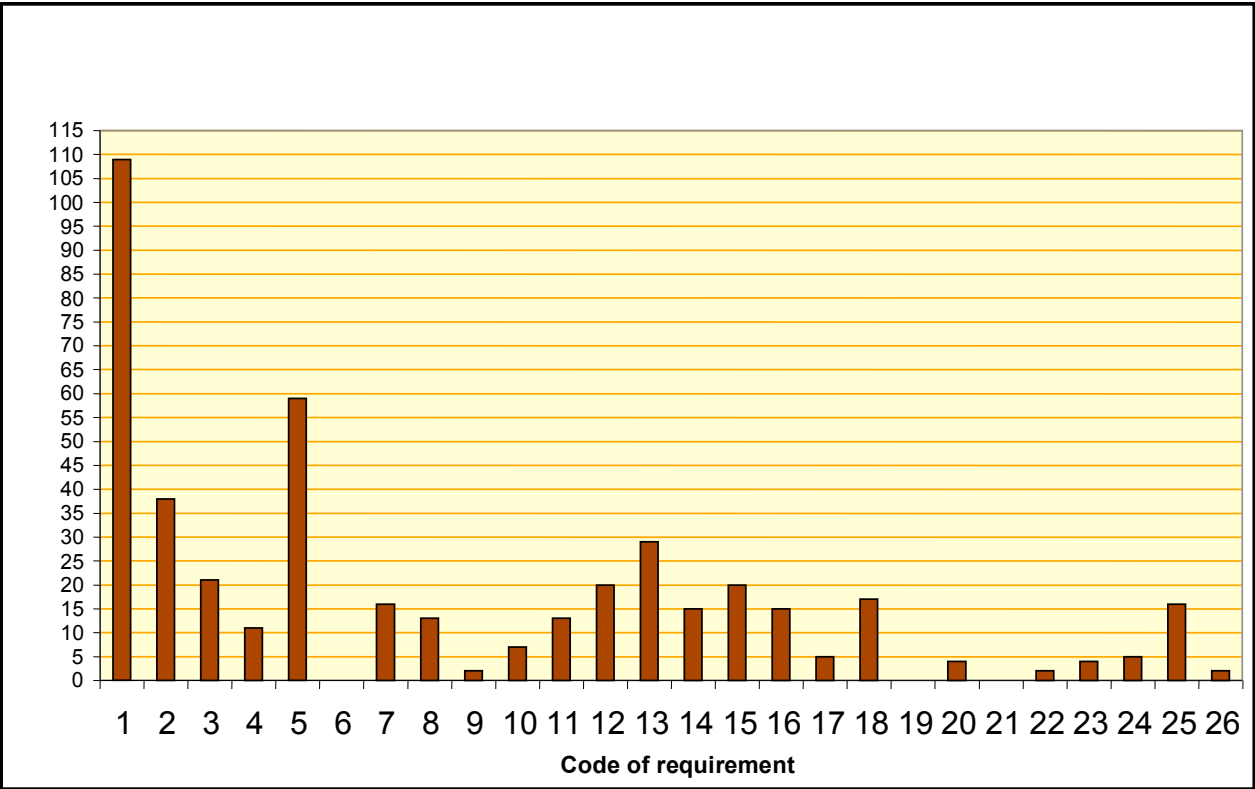
**in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**

Code	Demands
<b>1</b>	To increase\return\leave (price-work) salary, to pay salary on time, to pay debts on it
<b>2</b>	To increase, return old wages
<b>5</b>	To shorten work hours (to return to previous number of hours)
<b>8</b>	To enter the premises, restore completion of works before holidays and days off earlier (later) usual time, to enter, restore holidays
<b>13</b>	To dismiss bosses or directors (for various reasons: roughness, et cetera.)

In our period of study, demands for proper compensation took first place every year. Our analysis showed that the demand for a salary increase wins first place in all three regions, as expected. The demand coded two and the demand coded five, that is, to increase or return to a former wage scale and to shorten work hours or to return to a former duration respectively also has a high frequency of occurrence. Workers more and more often protested against disrespect from owners and factory administration; this explains the popularity of the demand coded 13, regarding the dismissal of bosses and directors most often related to worker maltreatment.

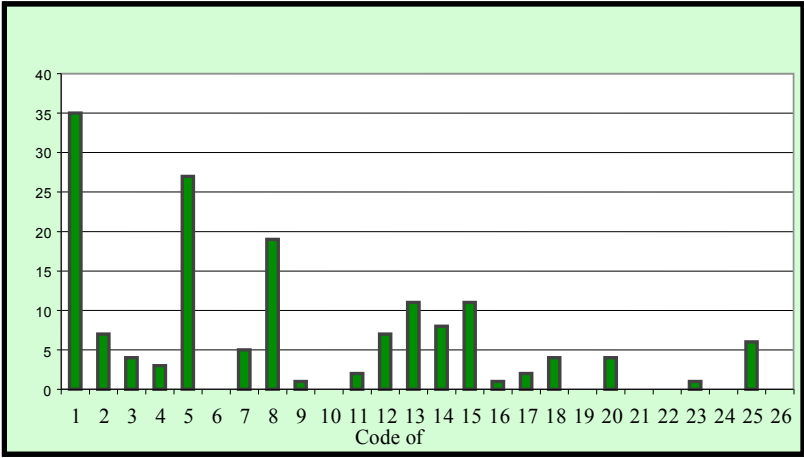
In spite of the fact that in Left-bank Ukraine as well as in the CIR and in Petersburg five identical demands (the demands are presented in the table above) were most frequently made, each region had its own unique character, as illustrated by the charts that were constructed during the analysis of the database.

**Graph. 4.5.6. Frequency of occurrence of worker demands made during labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903.**



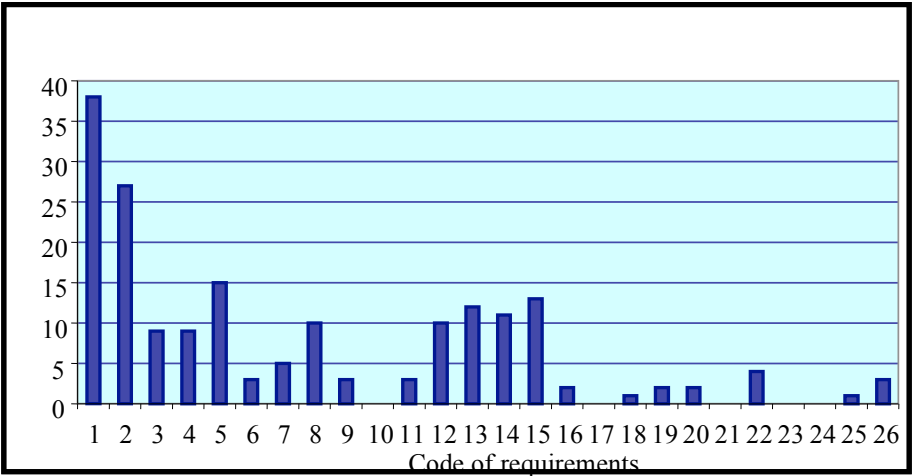
**Graph. 4.5.7. Frequency of occurrence of worker demands made during labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**

Frequency of occurrence



**raph 4.5.8. Frequency of occurrence of worker demands made during labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in the Central Industrial Region from 1895 to 1903.**

Frequency of occurrence





In order to clarify the priority of demands in the regions of study, a table of the percentage ratio of frequency of demands was constructed.

**Table 4.5.9. Percentage ratio of priority worker demands made during labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**

	Code of requirement				
<i>Region</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>8</i>
<i><u>Left-Bank Ukraine</u></i>	25%	9%	13%	7%	3%
<i><u>Central Industrial Region</u></i>	21%	15%	8%	7%	5%
<i><u>Petersburg</u></i>	22%	4%	17%	7%	12%

It is interesting that the demand coded 2 in the CIR was especially popular, while neither in Petersburg, nor in Ukraine did it come up with noticeable frequency. In Petersburg, the demand to increase or return to a former wage schedule constituted only four percent of the total number of demands. This can be explained by the fact that in Petersburg, the metalworking industry was generally represented by engineering, mechanical and shipbuilding plants, where workers were generally highly qualified, and received among the highest wages across all of Russia.

The demand concerning the dismissal of directors (code 13) by all studied regions represented 7% of the total number of declared demands. If at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this demand was not popular, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it took a high place among the other (generally economic) demands made by workers in the

metalworking industry. This can be explained by the fact that the labour movement in Russia was changing quickly, reflecting the actively forming class-consciousness of workers. Their main demands were higher salaries, shorter working hours, and, during mass actions at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, included political slogans of democratic freedoms.

Petersburg saw many instances of the demand to enter the workplace and to completely restore holidays and days off (code 8). In Left-bank Ukraine and the CIR, this demand took a low position; five percent in the CIR and only three percent in Left-bank Ukraine.

The above may be understood in light of the idea that the Petersburg metalworkers made up a kind of working-class elite. Thus, as many were quite well-trained, they may also have been informed by propagandists of the position of workers in Europe, where workers fought for days off and holidays.

A tendency peculiar to labour conflicts at the enterprises of the metalworking industry in all three regions in 1903 should be noted. This was a time when collective and general strikes were very popular. In 1903, strike activity increased, and it reached a peak in all three areas from 1895 for 1903 (illustrated by Graph 3 in the previous paragraph).

The emergence of general demands that were developed together by the representatives of several enterprises was a peculiar feature of the labour movement during the 1903 general strikes in the metalworking branch of Russian industry. Party groups and circles already at this time played quite a noticeable role in the formulation of worker demands.

#### ***4.5.2. Reasons for labour conflicts at the enterprises of the metalworking industry in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg.***

The reasons behind labour conflicts constitute another essential characteristic of the strike movement. The "Chronicle" allows us to define and formalize some of these reasons. The formalized data were entered into a database for processing and analysis.

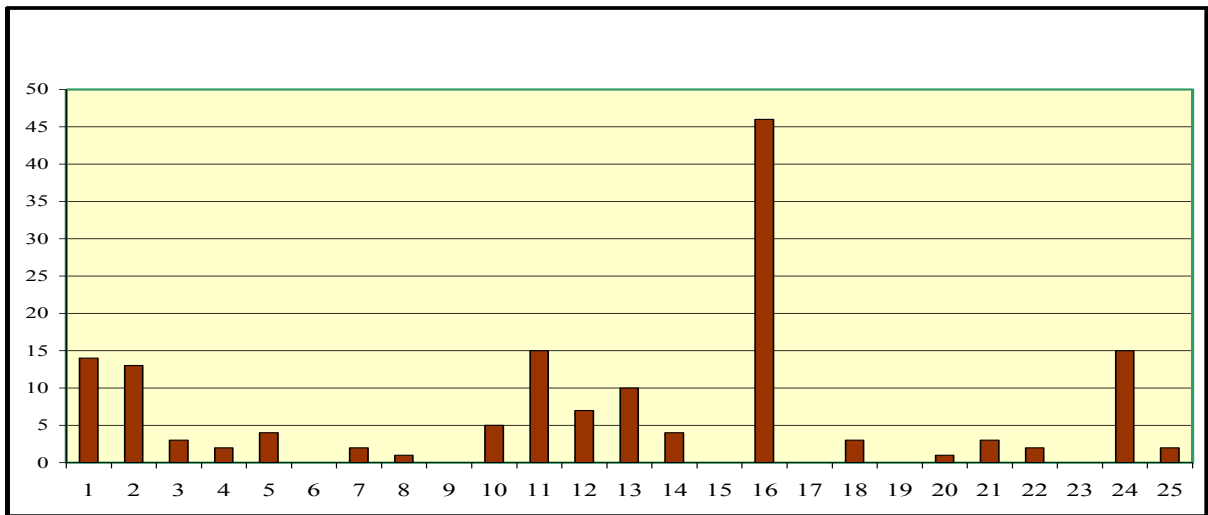
Of the twenty-five reasons for labour conflicts noted in the "Chronicle", ten stood out as most popular in all three studied regions. A table with codes for these reasons and their description is presented below.

**Table 4.5.10. Coding of the reasons for labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry with the highest occurrence in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**

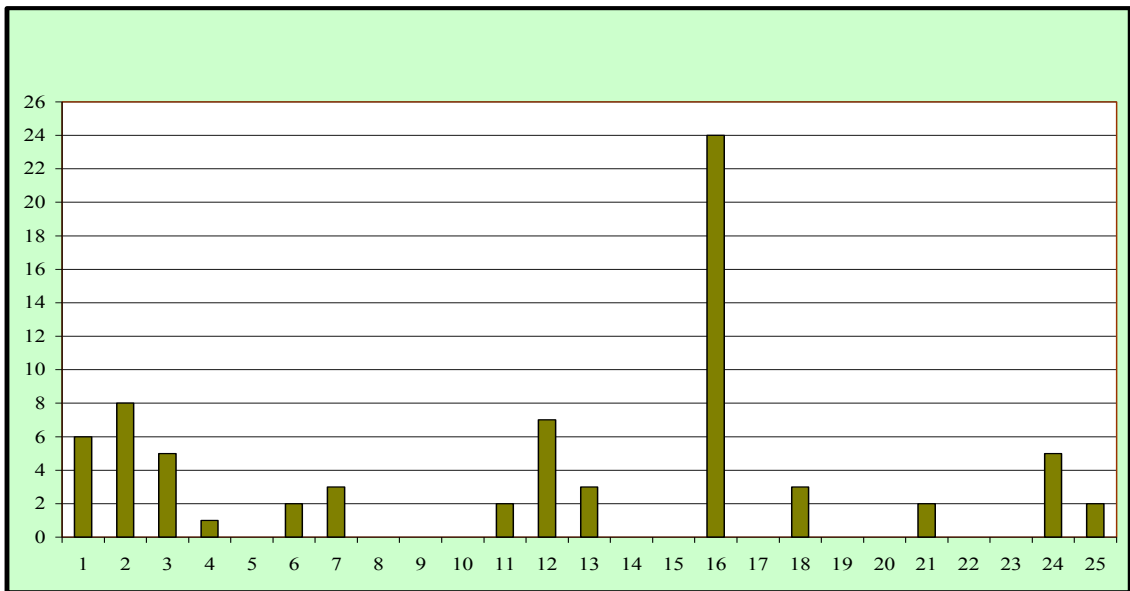
<b>Code</b>	<b>Reasons for conflict</b>
1	<i>Falling and low wages</i>
2	<i>Falling and low wages</i>
3	<i>Delays in salary payment</i>
11	<i>Dismissals, changes in terms of employment</i>
12	<i>Administration arbitrariness</i>
13	<i>Other (everything that does not fall into the above-stated</i>
14	
16	<i>In solidarity (on May 1)B</i>
21	<i>In protest at actions of the authorities</i>
24	<i>Under pressure from strikers at other enterprises</i>

Charts were constructed that reflect the frequency of occurrence for twenty-five recorded reasons for labour conflicts at the enterprises of a metalworking industry during the period for each of the studied areas.

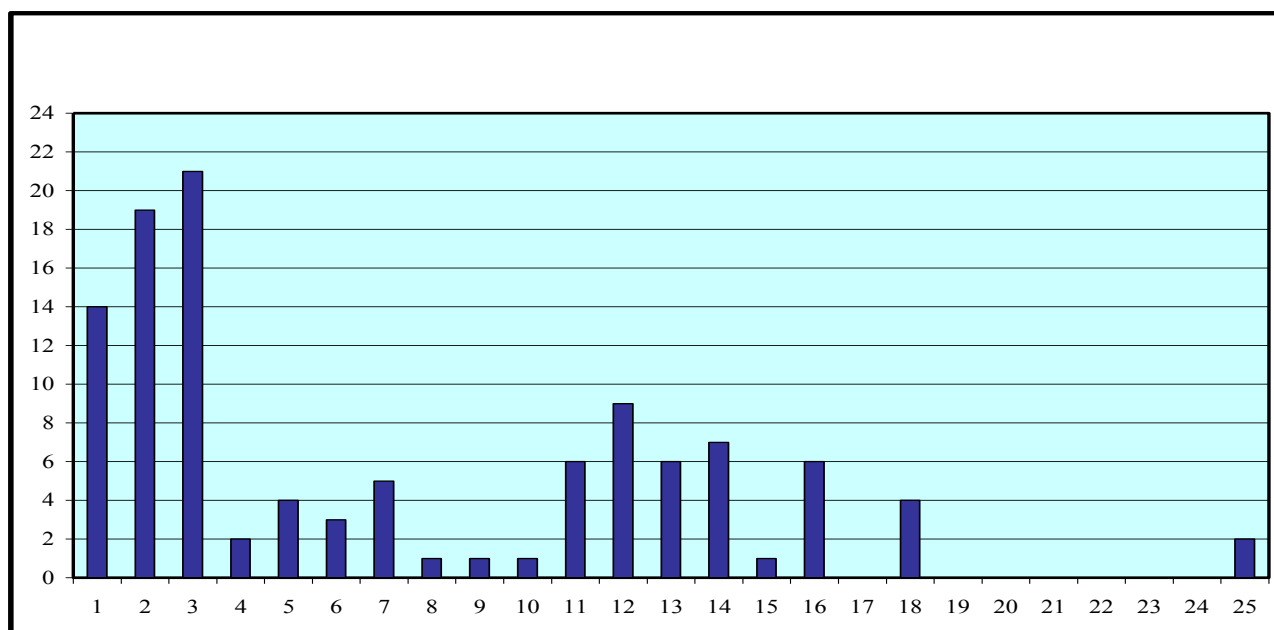
**Graph. 4.5.11. Frequency of occurrence of reasons for labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903.**



**Graph. 4.5.12. Frequency of occurrence of reasons for labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**



**Graph. 4.5.13. Frequency of occurrence of reasons for labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in the Central Industrial Region from 1895 to 1903.**



In most cases, strikes and excitements arose on economic "soil." The rigid position of businessmen on conditions at the beginning of the economic crisis resulted in desperate worker efforts in various productions to protect their rights, reinstate former levels of compensation, and introduce the work day that was entitled to them according to the law of June 2, 1897. This accounts for the high frequency of occurrence of labour conflicts with the coding 1, 2 and 3 in all three studied regions.

A high frequency of occurrence of such reasons for labour conflicts as falling and low salaries and delays in salary payment is especially characteristic of the CIR, where these reasons are head and shoulders above other reasons for labour conflicts.

The frequency of occurrence of such reasons for labour conflicts as dismissal is characteristic of the CIR, and even more for Left-bank Ukraine. In Petersburg this reason does not show up very frequently. Possibly, businessmen during the economic

crisis at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century appreciated qualified labour and sought to hold on to them.

Telling, too, is the reason coded 12 – administrative arbitrariness. Owners reneging on promised concessions made workers especially fierce. Thus were feelings further aroused, followed by explosions of indignation and rage. These could be accompanied by the destruction of factory and administration premises, factory products and wine benches, theft of food, alcohol and materials: quite often there were cases of beating or wounding of representatives of the workplace administration.

As workers became progressively more literate and class-conscious, they began to voice discontent about administrative reneging on promises. The economic crisis saw an amplification of owner disrespect towards workers. This in turn led to the emergence of labour conflicts, especially in the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg, where qualified and competent workers prevailed.

Labour conflicts with codes of sixteen and twenty-four warrant particular note: solidarity with May 1<sup>st</sup> celebrations, and when workers joined a strike under pressure from workers of other, generally neighbouring, enterprises. These reasons attest the reality of the solidarity and organization of workers in the specified regions.

We can readily see from the charts that the above-discussed reasons were especially popular in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg, whereas they are almost at zero value of frequency in the CIR. This indicates that Petersburg and Ukraine enjoyed a much higher degree of solidarity and worker organization than did the CIR.

However, these levels differed considerably from region to region. It is not possible to carry from one cluster to another the respective levels of organization. This aspect of the strike movement in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg at the studied time is considered in more detail in the following paragraph of the current work.

Thus, on the basis of our analysis, we propose two interrelated interpretations of the high level of strike activity in these regions:

1. The differences in skills and literacy of workers. The higher the level of qualifications and literacy of workers, the higher is their market power vis-a-vis entrepreneurs. This factor is critical, especially during the period of economic depression. Management values qualified workers when it is difficult to replace them, while at times of mass unemployment, unqualified, easy-to-replace workers are exploited to the maximum.
2. The level of solidarity among workers and class consciousness. As mentioned in the Introduction of the current dissertation, the newly formed social class of workers was not homogenous, but consisted of three distinct groups of workers. The great majority of workers maintained a peasant mentality and a low level of literacy and class consciousness. The mid-layer of workers at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in a transitional stage from rural self-perception towards one characterized by urban individualism. Finally, the fastest-growing group of workers included the most qualified, educated and self-conscious representatives. These are the workers who triggered the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. The higher the level of literacy and qualification of the workers, the more receptive he was to political agitation and propaganda.

#### ***4.5.3 A ratio of spontaneity and organization of conflicts of workers at the enterprises of a metalworking industry in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg.***

An analysis of such characteristics as solidarity and degree of organization of workers is will help us to paint an objective picture of the nature of the strike movement in the enterprises of the metalworking branch of Russian industry at the turn of the century in the three studied areas.

At this time, when in connection with the depression production began to plummet, "friendly solidarity" was an occasion for strikes and other actions: protection dismissed, supporting strikes at other factories, demand of the release of arrested companions, and so forth. Not infrequently, workers violently "laid off" the next guild or workers of a neighbouring enterprise who did not wish to join a strike.

An important indicator for defining the level of worker organization in the enterprises is the belonging recorded in the "Chronicle" of labour conflicts to collective or general strike. This indicator was fixed at the "Chronicle" database creation in the information field specially created for this purpose. The analysis of belonging of labour conflicts to general or collective strikes, carried out by data about strikes in Left-bank Ukraine, the CIR and Petersburg during our studied period, provides a sense of the solidarity and organization in these areas. The charts presented below reflect this belonging.



**Table 4.5.14. Belonging of the labour conflict at the enterprises of the metalworking branch of Russian industry to collective or general strike from 1895 to 1903**

Belonging of labour conflicts at enterprises of the metalworking branch of Russian industry to collective or general strike from 1895 to 1903	
	Percentage of collective or general strikes from the total number of labour conflicts in the region
<i>Petersburg</i>	38
<i>Left Bank Ukraine</i>	31
<i>Central Industrial Region</i>	5

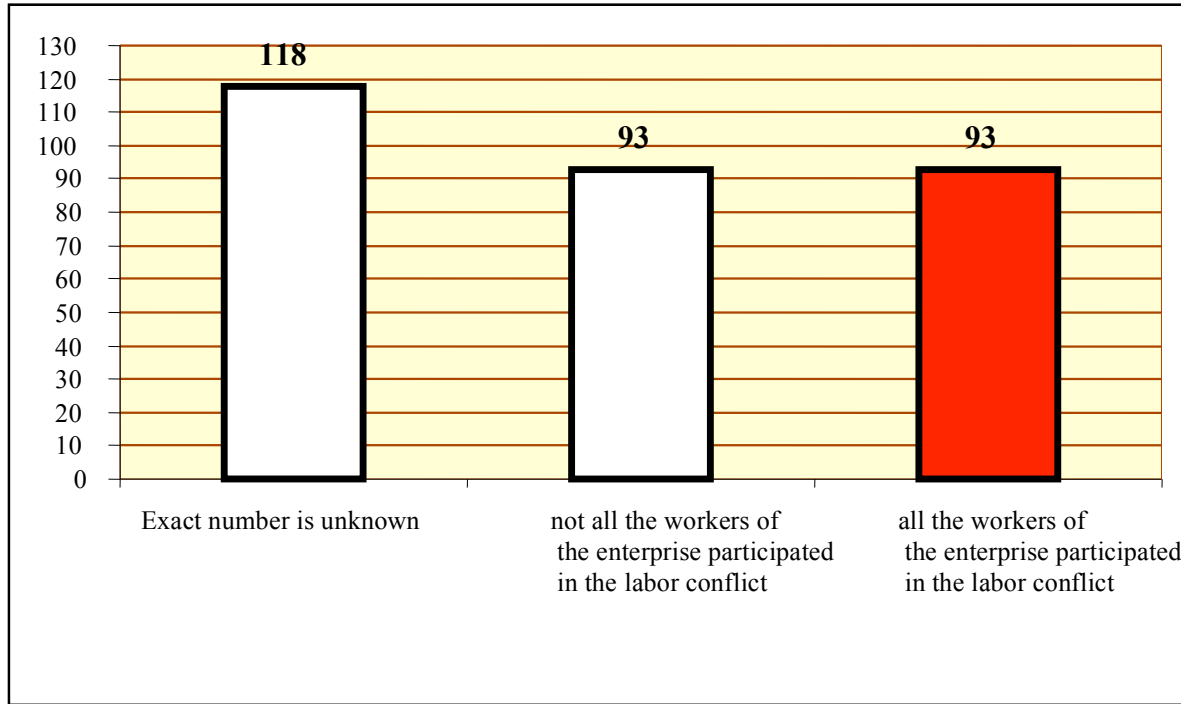
From Table 3.5 presented above, it becomes obvious that the largest percent of labour conflicts that involved collective or general strikes took place, first of all, in Left-bank Ukraine, and then in Petersburg. Labour conflicts in the metalworking industry in the CIR enterprises did not generally entail collective and general strikes from 1895 to 1903.

Important, too, is the number of striking workers as compared to the total number of workers at the workplace. The "Chronicle" provides the number of participants in a given strike, as well as the total number of workers in that workplace, giving us data on whether or not all workers took part in a given strike. As the exact number of participants in a labour conflict was not always clear, we can draw conclusions only on those data that are presented in the source.

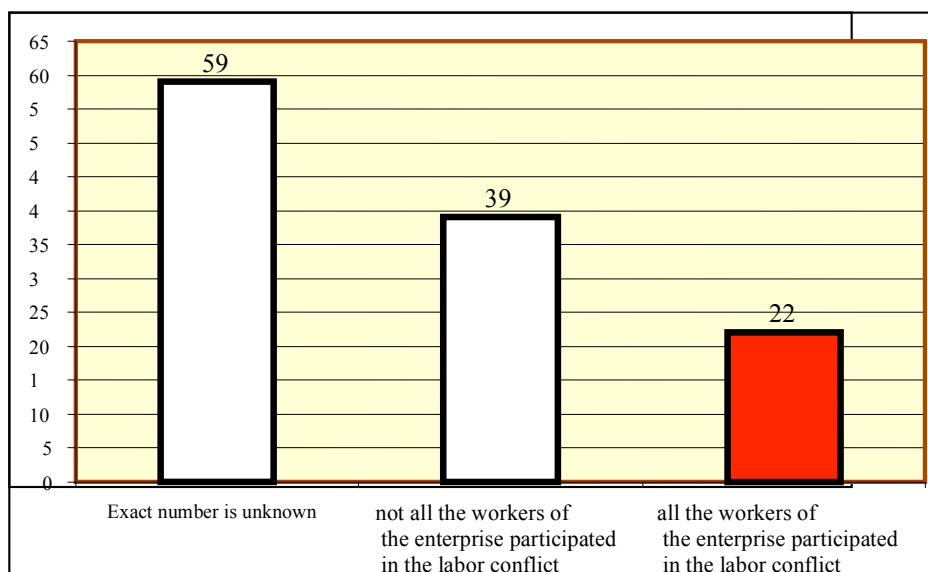
In the "Chronicle" database, an information field was created that reflects the relation between the number of workers striking compared to the total number of

workers in the workplace. On the basis of these data, charts on each area were constructed. From the charts presented below, it is clear that for a rather large percentage of labour conflicts, the exact number of strike participants is unknown. An analysis of the available data allows us to draw the conclusion that in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg, the percentage of labour conflicts in which all workers of a given enterprise participated was larger than that in the CIR. It certainly indicates that the solidarity and organizational level of workers at the enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg was higher than in the CIR, where labour conflicts in which all workers of the enterprise participated were not common.

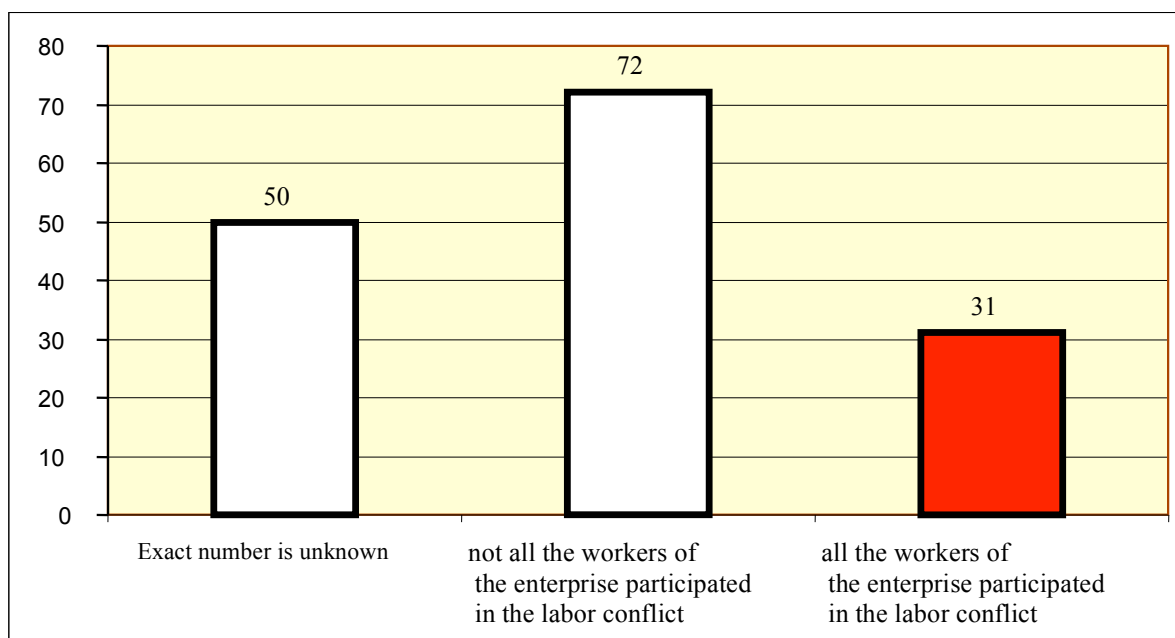
***Graph 4.5.15. The relation of number of workers striking to the total number at the enterprises of the metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903.***



**Graph 4.5.16. The relation of the number of workers striking to total number at the enterprises of metalworking branch of the Russian industry in Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.**



**Graph 4.5.17. The relation of the number of workers striking to the total number at the enterprises of the metalworking branch of Russian industry in the Central Industrial Region from 1895 to 1903.**



Thus, it is possible to conclude that in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg there was a relatively high level of worker solidarity and organization in metalworking enterprises.

Worker solidarity at the metallurgical enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine did differ, however, from solidarity at the machine-building enterprises of Petersburg. Often, the sources' description of a labour conflict leads us to define the behaviour of workers as solidarity, but the context in which the term "solidarity" is used should be taken into account.

If workers voluntarily joined the strike of a neighbouring business because they had similar aims that they wished to reach by means of a strike, we are dealing with a high level of solidarity, organization and class-consciousness: workers who are capable of standing as a "uniform flank" in a struggle management. Such behaviour is characteristic of Petersburg workers. When wages dropped and dismissals skyrocketed, they made efforts to organize themselves and act together.

A good illustration of the above-noted claim is the Petersburg general strike of 1897. This strike, which was initiated on the 2nd of January by workers in Petrokovskaya and Spasskaya manufactures, lasted almost two weeks and included 8929 Petersburg textile workers. From the very first day, the workers encouraged their peers in neighbouring factories to join the strike, thus bolstering the efficacy of the action. The striking organizations had prepared a common list of requirements to present to the management of the enterprises: to reduce labour to 10.5 hours per day (from 7 am to 7 pm, with a 1.5 hour break for lunch), and to raise their wages. This was not simply an expression of the discontent of the proletariat toward the administration of an enterprise that was based on grudges held toward capital holders. The chosen approach reveals itself as a strategy to obtain economic profit. By the morning of the 3rd of January, fully 11 factories engaged in cotton spinning, weaving and thread manufacture had joined the original strike, with a total of 8929 participating workers. The governmental authorities reacted immediately, with the statement that beginning

the 16th of April, the duration of the work day in textile enterprises located in the capital would be set from 6 am to 7 pm, with a 1.5 hour lunch break. However, the workers did not respond in similar haste. Critically, before announcing their response to the governmental statement, a strategic discussion was held. On the 9th of January, workers gathered from the 11 striking factories to formulate a plan of action. A decision was taken to reject the offered terms and to demand from the authorities extra payment for any labour that exceeded 10.5 hours per day; in case of the rejection of their terms the workers chose to continue the strike. In other words, the workers stood firmly in their struggle. On the 10th of January, the Petersburg political labour organization, the “League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class,” used the opportunity to support the workers’ movement by issuing the leaflet, “To the workers of cotton spinning and textile manufacturing enterprises of Petersburg”. The leaflet listed the requirements that had been stated by the strikers, and encouraged other workers to join the strike struggle. The following day, the police force was sent to the striking factories. In the Kening factory, lockout was announced immediately upon police force arrival; meanwhile, lockout was threatened in the Ekaterinogorfskaya, Oxtenskaya and Nevskaya manufacturing enterprises. The strike was over, and none of the requirements had been met. Only in Severnaya did the administration promise to consider workers’ demands. One hundred and forty-nine workers were fired from the Nevskaya factory. New recruitment started in the Ekaterinogorfskaya factory. The identified organisers of the strike were arrested and jailed. Despite the negative outcome of this general strike, we can see from its description the spirit of the labour struggle in Petersburg. As is clear from the above, workers were not only capable of risking their jobs toward the goal of negotiating more equitable terms of employment, but, as well, were able to organize and act in a strategic manner.

However, it is to mention, that there were other cases as well. Quite often the workers of a certain guild would violently force other workers to join the strike. This occurred most frequently on the eve of May Day, or the day after, and this cannot be considered true solidarity. Such a model of behaviour strongly differs from Petersburg,

and rather indicates a collectivism stemming from a communal way of life. Thus, the number of collective strikes grew, but not necessarily because the level of class consciousness and literacy of workers was so high that they formulated and presented general demands. Rather, striking workers may well have coerced other workers to join along.

In general, workers employed in the metallurgical enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine did not engage in spontaneous or destructive joint actions. The military and the Cossacks had been used since 1895-1903 to suppress strikes up to hundreds of strikes per year. Police intervention was an even more frequent phenomenon. It led, as a rule, to clashes, quite often with dead, wounded and, of course, arrested workers. In this way, no fewer than 1,300 people were sentenced for participating in labour-movement strikes in 1903. Also in that year, in strikes in large productions, between one hundred and four hundred workers resigned, on average. Lock-outs occurred less frequently, which is certainly related to the fact that they were highly damaging to the income of the business owners.

General strikes in southern Russia involved the efforts of police, governors, prosecutors, local departments of “okhranka” (the department responsible for the security and political order in the country) and investigative and other retaliatory authorities. In July-August of 1903, no fewer than 70 companies of the infantry, including shooting and engineering divisions, and no fewer than twelve hundred Cossacks were sent to cities in which strikes were breaking out<sup>191</sup>. Police dispersed the crowds by showering them with water streams from fire engines, while the participants answered them with a hail of stones and reciprocal shots from revolvers.

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<sup>191</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral` 1917 g. KHronika. Vy`p. IX «1903 god». (Redaqtor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. ZHeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmy`qov i dr.) M., 2005. p. 14.

#### ***4.5.4. The results of labour conflicts at the enterprises in the metalworking industry in Left-bank Ukraine, the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg.***

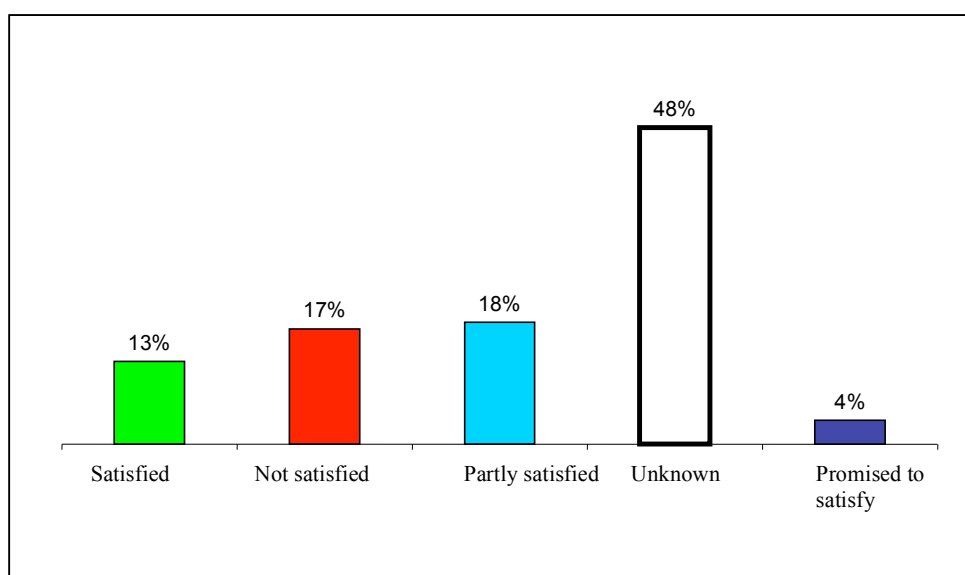
The descriptions of the labour conflicts recorded in the "Chronicle" enable us to analyse the results of these conflicts. Data on these results were entered into a separate information field of the 'Chronicle' database.

However, we cannot base our understanding of the labour movement at the studied period and place on these results, because many of the results have been lost to history. Nevertheless, it seems interesting analyse this characteristic of the Russian labour movement, especially in light of the fact that it has not been researched before.

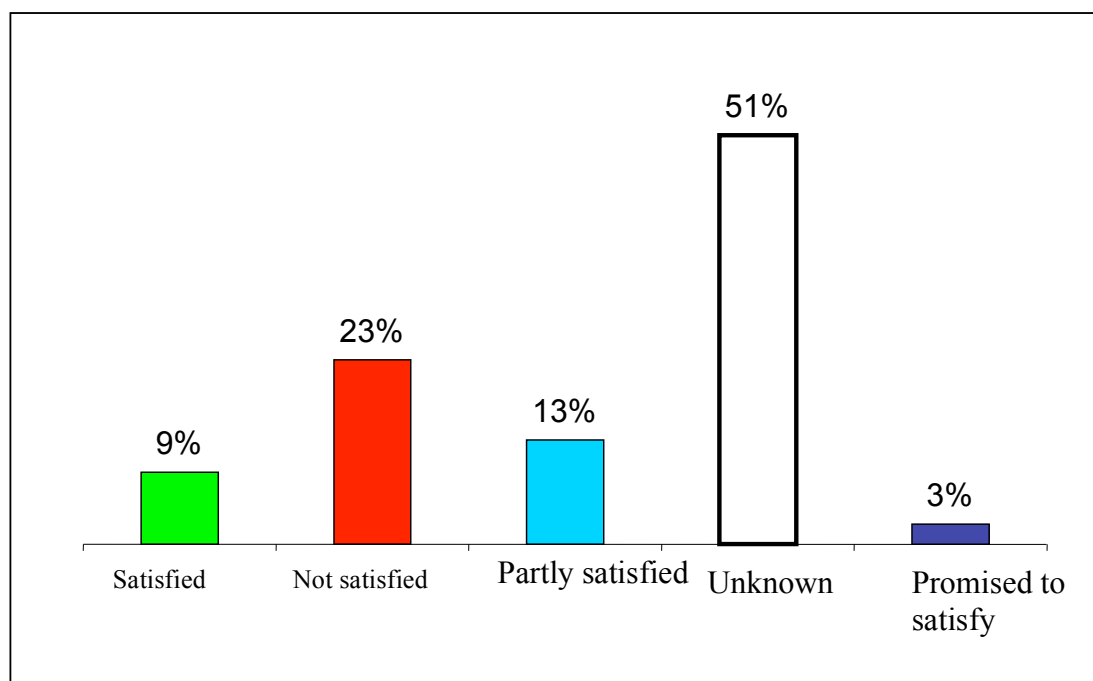
After entering into the database information on the results of the labour conflicts, the data were formalized. In total, five possible results were identified: when worker demands were completely met by the administration; when worker demands were not met; when worker demands were partially satisfied; when the administration promised to satisfy worker demands in the future and when there are no data on the results of the labour conflict in question.

An analysis of the data presented in the database "Chronicle" revealed a distribution of these five possible results of labour conflicts in the three studied regions. Below, the graphs illustrate the results of the analysis.

***Graph 4.5.18. Distribution of the results of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine from 1895 to 1903.***

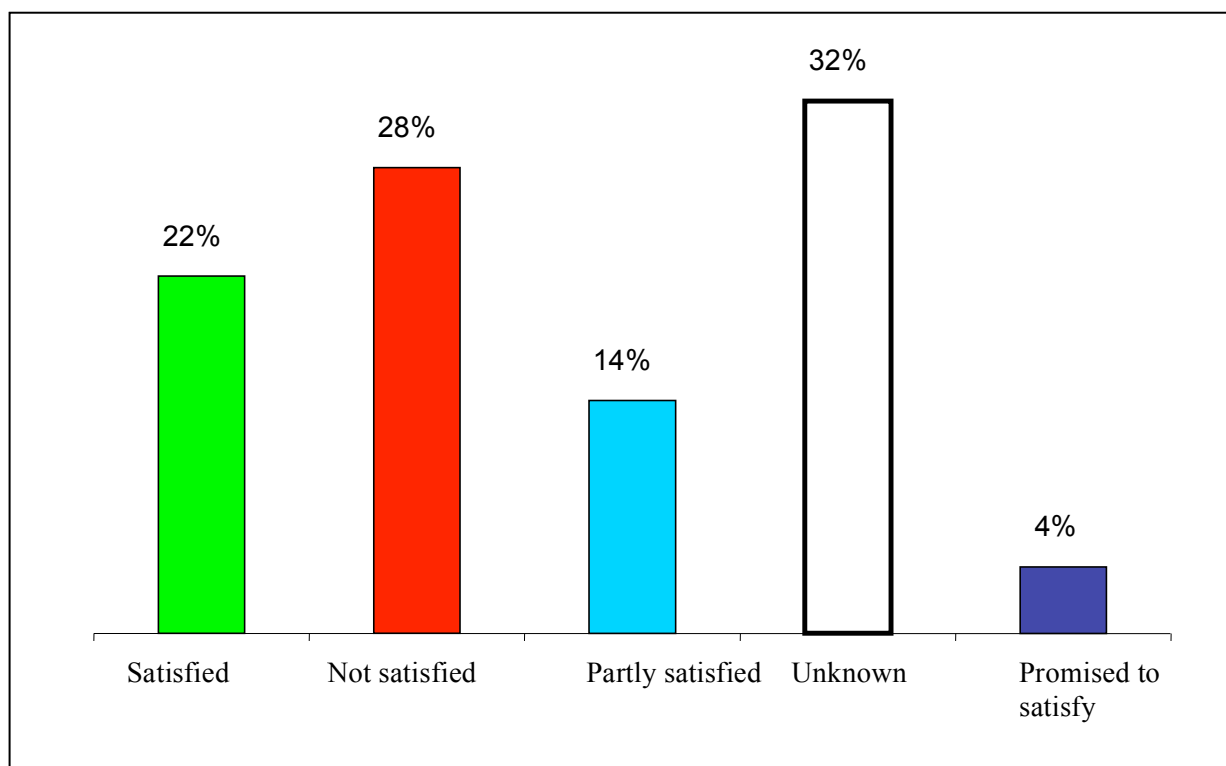


***Graph 4.5.19. Distribution of the results of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in Petersburg from 1895 to 1903.***





***Graph 4.5.20. Distribution of the results of labour conflicts in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in the Central Industrial Region from 1895 to 1903.***



The charts clearly demonstrate a ratio of "successful" and "unsuccessful" strikes and disruptions for workers. This improves our understanding of the relationships between workers and owners, as well as enables us to define the level of representativeness of the source. The share of labour conflicts with an unknown outcome in the "Chronicle" is very high – 48% in Left-bank Ukraine, 51% (more than half of the total number) in Petersburg and 32% in the Central Industrial Region. This attests that in archival files particularly, these kind of data tend to be missing.

On the basis of the available parameters, we obtained the following data: the smallest percent of the total number of labour conflicts at enterprises in the metalworking industry of Petersburg involved cases in which the result was the full

satisfaction of worker demands – 13% of the total number; demands were not met at all in 17% of cases; the largest percent are those cases in which demands were partially satisfied (18%).

At the Petersburg enterprises, the results of the conflicts were as follows: demands met completely - 9% of the total number; demands met partially – 13% of the total number; and the most frequent result, demands went completely unmet in 23% of the cases.

The distribution of the results of labour conflicts at CIR enterprises was as follows: partial satisfaction of demands – 14% was the most frequent result, demands were completely met in 22% of cases, and most common, as in Petersburg, demands went completely unmet in 28% of the cases.

A separate group is represented by the result of the promise of the administration to satisfy the demands of workers. In the above graphs, it is obvious that the frequency of occurrence of similar results at the enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the CIR was the lowest – 4%, 3% and 4% respectively. Further, it was impossible to determine definitively to whose advantage these cases had been resolved, as often the administration reneged on its promises, which in turn led to new discontent.

#### ***4.5.5. Conclusions***

The results of the data analysis on the history of the labour movement in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and Central Industrial Region in 1895-1903 allows us to draw some important conclusions:

1. Our analysis of the reasons for labour conflicts and of the demands made by workers during these disputes does not confirm the belief adopted by Russian and European historiography that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, strikers' reasoning and demands in the metalworking branch of the Russian industry began to assume a political rather than economic character. On the contrary, our research indicates that the strikes were purely economic in nature.

However, our analysis of the statistical material confirmed as well that the labour movement in Russia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in major transition, reflecting an actively forming worker class-consciousness. This explains the popularity of the demand for the dismissal of managers, and the prevalence of such reasons for labour conflicts as ill-treatment of workers by the administration.

2. Our analysis of the degree of solidarity and organization of actions of workers in the three regions leads us to conclude that a high level of solidarity was characteristic, first of all, for workers in Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg. However, that manifestations of solidarity can be complex and confusing should be kept in mind when considering this point.

3. Last but not least, our data analysis on the results of labour conflicts in the three regions leads us to conclude that the relations of workers and owners during the studied period had a rather compulsory character from the vantage point of the latter. All three areas had a very low percentage of labour conflicts resulting in the satisfaction of worker demands.

## 4.6. Conclusion

By way of concluding, we shall once again review the main results.

The source "Chronicle of labour movement" comprises complete data for carrying out our research. Notably, the material collected in the "Chronicle" differs markedly from data on labour conflicts collected by factory inspection, especially as all branches of production are included in the "Chronicle" except for agriculture.

The creation on the basis of the materials contained in the "Chronicle" of a database on strikes and disturbances showed that such collection and classification of mass information is very convenient for carrying out the further analysis of data with the help of computer and statistical methods of analysis. The programs (Access, Excel and Statistica) used in this research solved the problems set out for them. An advantage of Access is that it provides ample analytical opportunities for special modules for carrying out calculations and creating schedules.

Importantly, the current survey revealed differences in the dynamics of strike activity in the three researched regions. During times of crisis, strike activity in the CIR and Petersburg enterprises increased; workers organized and acted in collective and group strikes; at the same time, at the enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine, strike activity actually went to zero, which attests that in times of mass unemployment and economic hardship, worker-metallurgists, afraid to lose their jobs, preferred not to declare their discontent.

As the analysis shows, these differences are not caused by ethnic or intellectual factors, but rather by the specifics of the nature of production of the metalworking industry in these regions.

Our analysis of the structure of the strike movement in the metalworking branch of Russian industry in Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the Central Industrial Region from 1895-1903 allows us to draw some important conclusions. Our research on the reasons for the conflicts and the demands made by workers confirms an economic orientation of the actions of workers at the turn of the century, and at the same time attests the growth of worker class-consciousness.

Careful consideration has been paid in the current chapter to a comparison of strike activity in the three regions. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the hypothesis to be tested was the leading place of Saint Petersburg and the CIR versus Left-Bank Ukraine. Our research demonstrated that in labour conflicts in pre-revolutionary Russia between 1895-1903, the true front-runners in the long-term dynamics were indeed Petersburg and Moscow, with the proviso that during some period the workers of Left-Bank Ukraine contested for the leading position with the CIR. Thus, we now know that the role of the southern region is commonly underestimated in Russian historiography.

The other issue that was tackled in the chapter is the behaviour of workers during the economic recession that took place in the country at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As our analysis shows, there is no one pattern that was followed or theory that was exercised by Russian workers at the time. While the workers in Left-Bank Ukraine almost stopped striking during times of crisis, in Petersburg and the CIR we note totally opposite dynamics: the level of labour struggle significantly increased. Hence, we have observed completely different reactions to an economic crisis in different regions of the Empire. Neither the economic-hardship theory, nor the business-cycle theory, then, can be applied to the whole territory of the Russian Empire in the pre-revolutionary period.

Our analysis of the degree of worker solidarity and organization in the enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine, Petersburg and the CIR leads us to conclude that a high level of solidarity was a specific characteristic, first and foremost, for Left-bank Ukraine and Petersburg. Nonetheless, this solidarity was diverse in nature and

expression. So, workers employed at Left-bank Ukraine metallurgical enterprises more spontaneously applied a collectivist model of behaviour, the roots of which may be traced to a communal way of life. This is explained by differences in the nature of production. The share of unskilled workers at the metallurgical enterprises of Left-bank Ukraine was much higher than at the machine-building enterprises of Petersburg, and different social structures of labour resulted.

## *Chapter V.*

### *Verification of strike factors (statistical analysis of data in the "Chronicle" and the "Collection").*

#### *5.1. Introduction.*

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the global industrial revolution had sharply altered life in all its manifestations. Cutting off a great number of people from their habitual routines, it drove them to factories, requiring the acquisition of skills necessary for industrial production. In Russia, this industrial explosion urged forward migration from rural areas to quickly growing cities, where the working population barely adapted to the speed of the depersonalization.

The Century of the Machine triggered in Russian society a growing curiosity in the workers' estate, which actively joined the ranks at the bottom of the social pyramid of the Russian imperial house. This construction, which seemed at first sight fossilized, was at our period of interest a very complicated, but internally less and less stable system. The protests against inequality obviously disturbed the power structures, which were urged to protect the autocratic power from social conflicts. The emergence of the labour question in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was placed into the context of "production fever" and the fear of strikes in the industry, which was followed by mass actions of urban workers. The capitalist era at the turn of the century saw the replacement of labour conflicts and strikes by collective and general strikes, and meetings and demonstrations of a political character. Finally, two decades had not passed before the grass-roots labour movement in Russia practically defined the destiny of the entire Empire, establishing in the territory of one-sixth of the globe the dictatorship of the proletariat, determining illusory hopes for the destitute mass of workers throughout the whole world.

This transitional period is of particular import for the history of Russia, since the outcome of the transition determined the development of the country at all levels for decades to come. This included the political, economic, sociological, cultural as well as spiritual fields. Our main subject of interest here is the structure of the labour movement during a transition period - the last decade before the First Russian Revolution of 1905. Many researchers have demonstrated that at the turn of the century, the industrial revolution created substantial changes in the socio-economic model of society. This led to a move from the old “agreeing and accepting” style of behaviour, to a more active and ambitious one that can already be characterized as pre-civil society. These transformations were impelled by the appearance and development of a new phenomenon in the history of the Russian Empire: the mass labour movement. As has been mentioned several times earlier, Russia’s labour movement has been the subject of discussion, observation and analysis for decades. It has been studied from different angles and perspectives: by region, by industry, academic vantage point, and so on.

Nevertheless, a statistical analysis has never before been done on the labour movement in the Russian Empire that takes into account the labour conflicts in all the territories of the Russian Empire within a decade or even a few years involving all branches of industry. Thus, the main objective at this stage of the research was to conduct a statistical analysis of the collected data using a new source – the “Chronicle” - in order to determine the interrelations between different factors in the development of the labour movement. Importantly, the collected materials include information on labour conflicts in all provinces of the Russian Empire and in all branches of industry, and thus constitute a much more comprehensive source than the "Collection."

While the main source for our research is the “Chronicle”, a statistical analysis based on the data in the "Collection" is of interest mainly for two reasons. First, this source was for decades used as the main source for historical studies of labour history, and the conclusions and assumptions that researchers have arrived at were based on the materials of this collection. Nevertheless, the statistical analysis was not performed, and thus it would be useful to see what results it would yield, and if they would be in line



with ideas common in the historiography. Second, as today there is a much more detailed and comprehensive source at the researcher's disposal, that is, the "Chronicle," it is possible to test if, and to what extent, the aggregated data found in the "Collection" lends itself to detailed analysis. An obvious falsity would be to insist that due to the aggregated nature of the data presented in the "Collection," researchers cannot rely on it as a historical source. Nevertheless, it would be useful to test if it is possible to conduct a valid research analysis that is aimed at determining the particularities and defining a certain model of labour movement development in Russia based only in this type of source. Our hypothesis consists of two assumptions: first, that the "Collection" is a reliable source for reaching general conclusions on the labour movement in Russia before the Revolution of 1905; and second, that the "Collection" cannot be used as the only source in detailing the particular features of the structure of the labour movement, for instance, determining the particular features of the labour movement by industry or by province.

This chapter is divided into five main parts. Each part shows the results of the verification of a particular hypothesis by means of the statistical analysis of data and, as is common, a conclusion at the end of the chapter. It was necessary to perform several types of statistical analyses in order to achieve a quite detailed and accurate understanding of the structure of the labour movement at the turn of the century.

The major objective of this chapter is the performance of factor analysis, which gives us a unique opportunity to determine the main factors that influenced the development of the process; cluster analysis, which is essential for determining the regional structure of the labour movement in the Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1905; and regression analysis, which will allow us to tease out the interrelations between the variables within the labour movement, and to establish cause and effect relations between the factors of the phenomenon.

In order to analyse the results of our statistical analysis without interruption by the theoretical part of the work, we decided to present a brief overview of all the

important coefficients and indexes. Thus, we moved directly to the discussion of the results, and did not distract the reader with an explanation of the theoretical part. For this reason, in the main body of the chapter only the practical presentation of the graphs and tables with the interpretation of results will be presented. This will improve the presentation of the research materials, as well as make the content of the chapter more comprehensible.

Additionally, we note that the most important graphs, tables and diagrams are placed in the main body of the text, rather than in the Appendix. This decision was taken because in our interpretation of the results we make regular reference to these images. Thus, we placed them in a reader-friendly place.

The hypothesis that will be tested in the current chapter concerns mainly the structure and the particularities of the development of the labour movement in Russia within one decade before the First Russian Revolution of 1905. The questions tackled in this part of the research have drawn the attention of historians before; nevertheless, the answers were not determined by means of statistical analysis of such a comprehensive source as the "Chronicle." Hence, it is our main objective in this chapter of the thesis to test this common historiographic hypothesis.

These are the four hypotheses to be tested by means of statistical analysis in the current chapter:

1. On the basis of regional characteristics of the labour movement in the Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1905, the leading provinces in number of labour conflicts were the Moscow and Saint Petersburg provinces<sup>192</sup>.

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<sup>192</sup> See for example: Surh, G.D., 'Petersburg Workers in 1905: Strikes, Workplace Democracy, and Revolution', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkley, 1979); Sablinsky, W., *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre*

2. Labour activity took place within two major industries in the Russian Empire – the textile and metal industries. The workers in the metalworking industry were the most active and well-organized in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>193</sup>. While the metalworkers have been portrayed as the incontestable leaders in this area, and as the ones deserving of gratitude for moving the country towards the First Revolution, the workers in the textile industry are understood to be in a secondary position.
  
3. Regarding the activity of the political organizations and parties and its influence on the labour movement in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: testing of the resource-

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of 1905, (Princeton, 1976); Robert Eugene Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian: the Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (Rutgers University Press, 1979); Bonnell, Victoria, *Roots of Rebellion: Worker's Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914*, (Berkley, Los Angeles and London, 1983); Zelnik, Reginald, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855-1870*, (Stanford, 1971); *Istoriya rabochih Leningrada*, V 2 t, T. 1., (L., 1972).

<sup>193</sup> See for example: Novikov A.V. *Trebovaniia rabochih Verxnego Povolzh'ia v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii 1905 g. kak otrazhenie ix mentaliteta* // Klio. SPb., 2002; *CHislennost' i sostav rabochih v Rossii na osnovanii dannyx pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 g.* Tom 1. (SPb., 1906), Vol. I; Kruze E.E. *Polozhenie rabocheho klassa Rossii v 1900-1914 gg.* Leningrad, 1976; *Istoriia rabochih Leningrada. 1703-1965. T. 2. 1917-1965.* L.: "Nauka", 1972, Belov M. N. *Iz istorii bor'by proletariata TSentral'noi Rossii v 1895 – 1897 gg.* // *Iz istorii rabocheho klassa SSSR.* Ivanovo, 1964; Belov M. N. *Rabochee dvizhenie v TSentral'noi Rossii v 1898 – 1900 gg.* *Uchenye zapiski Yarosl. ped. in-ta*, 1966, t. 58; Belov M. N. *Bor'ba proletariata TSentral'noi Rossii v 1901-1904 gg.* *Uchenye zapiski Yarosl. i Kostrom. ped. in-tov*, 1968, t. 62; Prokopovich S.N., *K rabochemu voprosu v Rossii*, (St. Petersburg, 1905); Bakulev G.D. *CHernaia metallurgiiia Uga Rossii.* M., 1953; *Vseobshchaia stachka na Uge Rossii v 1903g.* M., 1938. Ed. D.CHugaev.; Bortnikov I.V. *Iyul'skie dni 1903 g. Na Yuge Rossii.* Odessa, 1953.

mobilization theory. The image of labour conflicts as a “political weapon” in the hands of politicians. Russian and western historiography commonly conceives of strike activity and the dominant interest of workers to be related to their political freedom rather than their economic wellbeing.<sup>194</sup>.

4. Agitation and propaganda of Labour political parties were primarily focused on workers occupied in Metalworking branch of Russian Industry.

As in the the historiographical part of the current thesis all the above-mentioned hypotheses were presented and explored, including references to authors and their works, we shall now provide only the analysis of those hypotheses.

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<sup>194</sup> See for example: Sablinsky, W., *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905*, (Princeton, 1976); Schwartz, Solomon, *The Russian Revolution of 1905: The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, (Chicago and London, 1967); Schneiderman, J., *Sergey Zubatov and Revolutionary Marxist: The Struggle for the Working Class in Tzarist Russia*, (Ithaca, N.Y., London, 1976); Borodkin L.I. *Volny stachechnogo dvizheniia v Rossii kontsa 19 – nachala 20 vv.: o roli informatsionnykh faktorov // Rabochie v Rossii: istoricheskii opyt i sovremennoe polozhenie* / ed. CHurakova. M., Editorial URSS, 2004; *Kratkaya istoriya rabocheho klassa v Rossii*. M., 1962; *Istoriya rabocheho klassa Rossii. 1861 – 1900 gg.* M., 1972; *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v 1901 – 1904 gg.* L., 1975; *Stachechnoe dvizhenie rabochih Rossii*. M., 1986. T. 1-2. ; Edward Shorter, *Strikes in France*.

## **5.2. The roles and impact of provinces in strike activity.**

In the current part of the work, particular attention will be drawn to the testing of the first two hypotheses. With the help of cluster analysis, we shall test if indeed Petersburg and Moscow provinces were the front-runners in the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia; as well, the common wisdom regarding the leading position of metalworkers versus textile workers will be examined.

We chose to use cluster analysis in order to map out the territorial structure of the labour movement in the Russian Empire, defining the most distinguishing features for each group of provinces. This part of the dissertation should be considered not as an addition to the regression analysis of strikes, but as a separate full-value piece of research. The main aim of the current research is to analyse the geography of strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia, and to place the regional units in clusters according to the common features shared by each object in the group. The research based on cluster analysis can challenge a commonplace in the historiography that traditionally divides provinces according to administrative districts, and divides regional units according to labour movement dynamics.

### 5.2.1. *The regional structure of the labour movement in Russia based on the materials of the “Chronicle”*

The most common of the four above-noted hypotheses concerning the regional characteristics of labour movement in Russia is that Saint Petersburg and Moscow constituted the centres of the labour movement activity, and that they were the regions in which labour conflict development was most intense – the first hypothesis. At this point, it is essential to establish the regional particularities of the workers’ movement in the Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1905, because labour conflicts and their structure and intensity varied a great deal from region to region in the enormous territory of the Russian Empire poised at the edge of two centuries. One of the best ways to do so is to perform a cluster analysis, which will classify all the provinces of the Russian Empire into clusters according to labour movement activity and other features.

The “Chronicle” provides the researcher with much more detailed, and at the same time more comprehensive, information does the "Collection." It covers 81 provinces, against the 61 provinces that were analysed by the Institute of Factory Inspection, thus adding a previously missing 25 percent of data. The regional differences in data represented in each of the sources can be seen in the table below.

Table 5.2.1. The provinces included in the “Chronicle” and the provinces included in the "Collection."

Provinces represented in "Chronicle"	Provinces represented in the "Collection"
<b>Amursqaia</b>	
<b>Aqmolinsqaia</b>	
Arkhangelsqaia	Arkhangelskaya
Astrakhansqaia	Astrakhanskaya
Bakinsqaia	Bakinskaya
<b>Batumsqaia</b>	

Bessarabskaya	Bessarabskaya
Chernigovskaya	Chernigovskaya
<b>Chernomorskaya</b>	
Ekaterinoslavskaya	Ekaterinoslavskaya
<b>Elizavetpolsqaia</b>	
<b>Eniseisqaia</b>	
<b>Erivansqaia</b>	
Estliandskaya	Estliandskaya
Grodnenskaya	Grodnenskaya
<b>Harqowsqaia</b>	
<b>Iaqutsqaia</b>	
<b>Irqutsqaia</b>	
Kalishskaya	Kalishskaya
Kalujskaya	Kalujskaya
<b>Karssqaia</b>	
Kazansqaia	Kazanskaya
KHersonsqaia	KHersonsqaia
Kievskaya	Kievskaya
Kletskaya	Kletskaya
Kostromsqaia	Kostromskaya
Kovensqaia	Kovensskaya
<b>Kubansqaia</b>	
Kurliandsqaia	Kurliandskaya
Kursqaia	Kurskaya
<b>Kutaisqaia</b>	
<b>Kvantunsqaia</b>	
Lifliandskaya	Lifliandskaya
Lomginskaya	Lomginskaya
Lublinskaya	Lublinskaya
Minskaya	Minskaya
Mogilevskaya	Mogilevskaya
Moskovskaya	Moskovskaya
Nijegorodskaya	Nijegorodskaya
Novgorodskaya	Novgorodskaya
Oblast Voisqa Donsqogo	Oblast Voisqa Donsqogo
Olonetsakaya	Olonetsakaya
Orenburgskaya	Orenburgskaya
Orlovskaya	Orlovskaya
Penzenskaya	Penzenskaya

Permskaya	Permskaya
Peterburgsqaia	Peterburgsqaia
Petroqowsqaia	Petrokovskaya
Podolskaya	Podolskaya
Poltavskaya	Poltavskaya
<b>Primorsqaia</b>	
Pskovskaya	Pskovskaya
Radomskaya	Radomskaya
Ryazanskaya	Ryazanskaya
Samarskaya	Samarskaya
Saratovskaya	Saratovskaya
Sdletskaya	Sdletskaya
<b>Semipalatinsqaia</b>	
Simbirsqaia	Simbirskaya
Smolensqaia	Smolenskaya
Suvalqsqaia	Suvalskaya
<b>Syrdarinsqaia</b>	
Tambovskaya	Tambovskaya
Tavrisheskaya	Tavrisheskaya
<b>Tiflissqaia</b>	
<b>Tobolsqaia</b>	
<b>Tomsqaia</b>	
Tulskaya	Tulskaya
Tverskaya	Tverskaya
Ufimsqaia	Ufinskaya
Varshavskaya	Varshavskaya
Viatskaya	Viatskaya
Vilenskaya	Vilenskaya
Vitebskaya	Vitebskaya
Vladimirskaya	Vladimirskaya
Volinskaya	Volinskaya
Vologodskaya	Vologodskaya
Voronejskaya	Voronejskaya
Yaroslavskaya	Yaroslavskaya
<b>Zabaiqalsqaia</b>	
<b>Zaqaspijskaia</b>	



For a clearer sense of the geography of the Russian Empire, we decided to include a map of the region showing the division of territories by district. A description of the provinces included in each district is presented in the Appendix of current dissertation.

Карта военных округов Российской Империи. 1913 г.  
Map of Military districts of Russian Empire. 1913.



In addition, the data in the “Chronicle” includes descriptions of all types of labour conflicts, not only strikes, but also demonstrations, meetings, political gatherings,

manifestations and so on. Finally, it covers such branches of industry as mining, which made up a substantial share of the Russian industry on the eve of the 1905 Revolution. Hence, an analysis of data presented in the “Chronicle” will yield a much more precise picture of the regional divisions of the Russian Empire in terms of the rapid development of the labour movement in the country.

As mentioned above, cluster analysis was chosen to show the regional structure of the labour movement in Russia in our period of interest. This is very important for several reasons. First and foremost, it will give a better idea about the distribution and regional particularities of labour movement in Russia. With a surface of 23,700,000 km<sup>2</sup> and 80 provinces, it is not only interesting but also absolutely necessary to divide the Russian Empire into zones, since each major region has its own particular characteristics. Second, cluster analysis can be considered as a step towards a reliable regression analysis by region. Of course, it is possible to take the traditional territorial division of the country that was established in historiography years ago, but it seems appropriate to create a new division suitable for defining the regional structure of the labour movement.

Hence, 80 provinces were taken for the cluster analysis, and a group classification was created with the determination of the major regions that could be further analysed, with the help of regression analysis, for instance. The cluster analysis was conducted on the basis of certain characteristics of the labour movement in each province. The variables were selected with the help of factor analysis. The factor analysis reveals the general factors, furnishes clues for their interpretation, estimates their impact on separate indicators and on the studied phenomenon as a whole, quantitatively expresses their values for each of the considered objects, and on the basis of all this provides the chance to solve a number of problems that arise when processing mass sources.

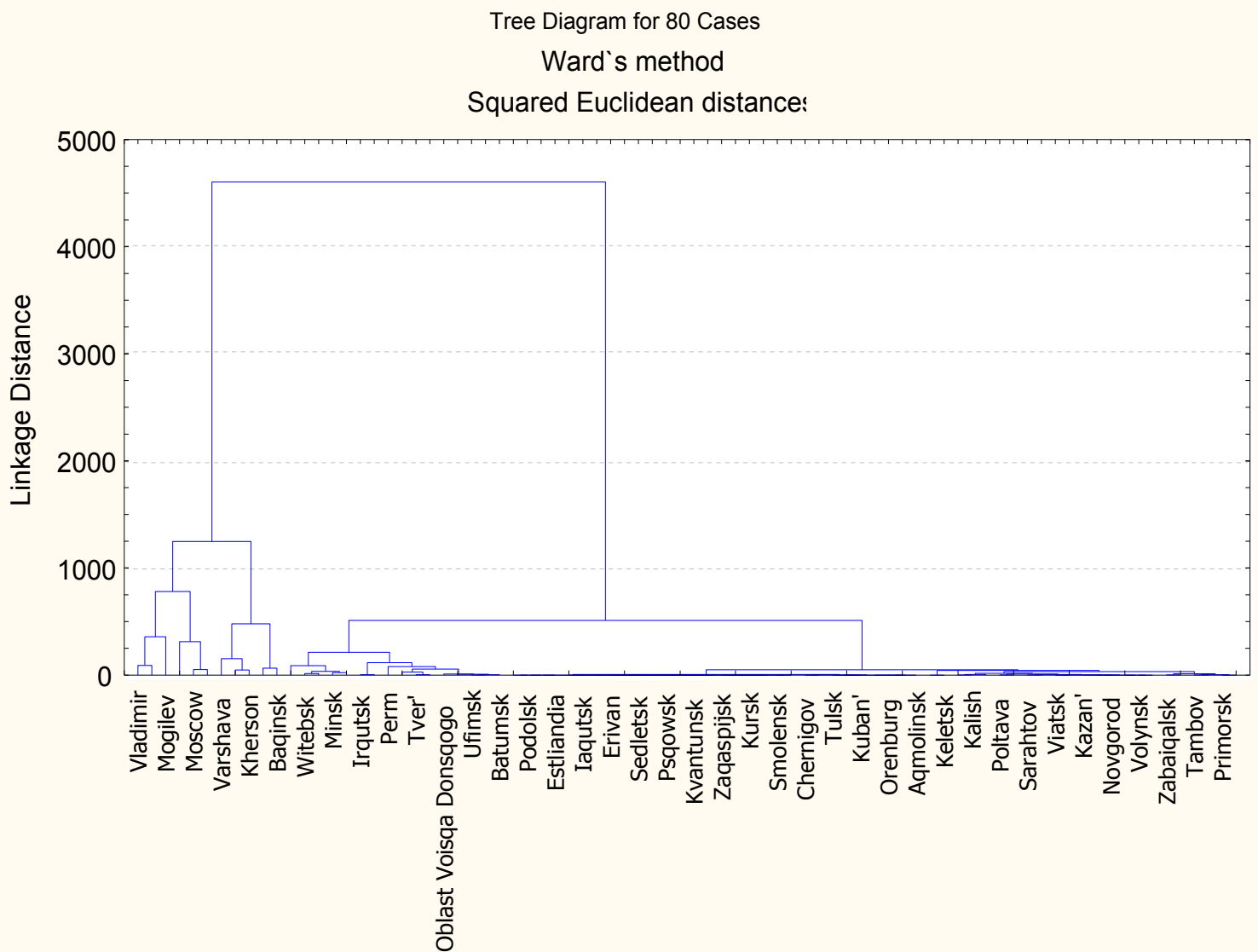
The general factors, determined with the help of factor analysis, are presented below:

- share of labour conflicts;
- share of participants in strike activity;
- share of labour conflicts in textile industry;
- share of labour conflicts in metal industry;
- share of labour conflicts in manufacturing industry;
- share of labour conflicts in mining industry;
- share of agitation element;
- share of strikes with economic demands;
- share of strikes with political demands;
- Share of strikes with positive outcome.

The results of the cluster analysis can be seen in the graph below. It is obvious that four major groups of provinces can be defined, each representing the number of provinces with shared characteristics pertaining to the labour movement. Hence, the first cluster is formed from the provinces: Grodnensk, Moscow, Petersburg and Vladimir; second cluster is formed from the provinces: Baqinsk, Ekaterinoslavl', Kperson, Kiev, Varshava; third cluster is formed from the provinces: Har'qov, Irqutsk, Leefliandsk, Minsk, Mogilev, Oblast` Voi`sqa Donsqogo, Orlov, Perm', Petrovsk, Tiffliss, Vilensk, Vitebsk; while the fourth cluster contains all the rest of the provinces. The first two clusters represent the two groups of provinces with the highest activity of labour movement and the highest intensity of labour conflicts. The third cluster represents the provinces with the highest level of intensity of labour conflicts, as well as most frequency of those conflicts. The last group is comprised of the provinces with the lowest level of labour conflicts in general and the lowest intensity of those conflicts.

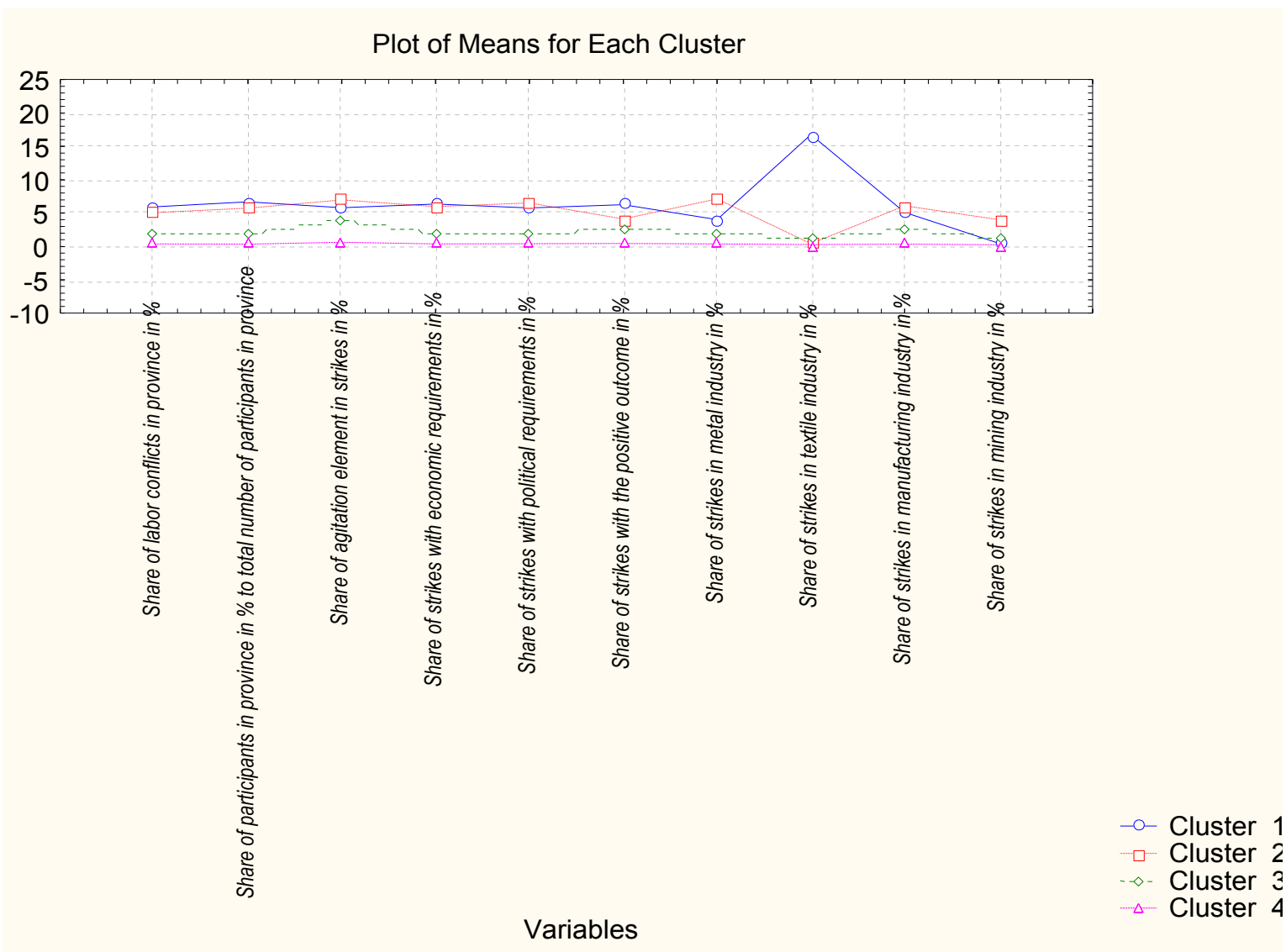
Interestingly, the majority of the provinces are subsumed in the fourth cluster, while the first two include only the leading provinces vis-a-vis the labour movement.

*Graph 5.2.2. Tree diagram for the 80 provinces in the Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1905, based on the materials of the “Chronicle”.*



The graph below represents the plot of means for each of the defined clusters. Each line on the graph shows the mean value for each of the variable for a certain type of cluster. This allows us to see more clearly the major characteristics of each cluster, and how these particular characteristics can be compared with certain features of other clusters.

Graph 5.2.3. Plot of means for each cluster in the cluster analysis of the 80 provinces in the Russian Empire at the turn of the century, based on the materials of the “Chronicle”.



As can be seen from the graph of the plot of means performed by means of the cluster analysis based on the materials of the “Chronicle”, the first cluster has the highest share of labour conflicts, as well as the highest share of participants in those conflicts. Therefore, this cluster represents the leading provinces in the labour movement in the Russian Empire within a decade before the First Russian Revolution. It is noteworthy that this cluster has the highest rate of labour conflicts taking place in the textile industry, which counters the common wisdom regarding strike activity in the metal industry being the most intense– the second hypothesis. Too, the first cluster counts the highest share of labour conflicts with a positive outcome. This can be explained by the idea that when workers organized for a general strike or general unrest, the administration was more likely to accede to the demands of the strike participants because they feared the loss of work hours and hence profit, as well perhaps a reflection of the administration attempting to avoid possible damage to property during the labour conflict itself. The provinces that are included in the first cluster are presented in the table below.

Table 5.2.4. The members of cluster number 1 for Graph 2.

Members of Cluster Number 1 (mainDBprovinces) and Distances from Respective Cluster Center Cluster contains 4 cases	
linkage	Distance
Grodnensk	1.906122
Moscow	1.657473
Petersburg	2.531522
Vladimir	2.681707

Thus, the first cluster includes Grodnensk, Moscow, Petersburg and Vladimir Provinces. Three of these provinces are known to have a concentrated textile as well as manufacturing industry. The question is, why does Petersburg Province appear in the same cluster? As can be seen by the indications of distances from the respective cluster

centre, the province that represents this cluster of leading provinces is Moscow Province, with Grodnensk Province next, and Petersburg and Vladimir provinces coming in only third place. Since it is already well established that Moscow as well as Vladimir provinces represented the textile industry in the labour movement in the Russian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well that in both provinces workers were very active, we will not devote space to an explanation of why they were placed in the first cluster. Regarding Grodnensk Province: this province was the central province for the textile industry in northwest Russia, with a concentration of fourteen thousand industrial workers employed in textile and manufacturing in this region. The textile workers in this province were very active in labour conflicts, and within the studied period over eight thousand workers participated in strikes.

It is quite surprising to see Petersburg province representing the textile industry, since it is common to associate Petersburg with metalworking provinces. After referring to the source, the answer occurs immediately: it is known that Petersburg Province had metal industry enterprises as well as textile enterprises, and labour conflicts occurred within the studied decade in both branches of industry. However, what is really important and interesting is that the workers in textile enterprises struck much more often than the workers in metal enterprises in Petersburg Province. This again runs against the notion that Petersburg province should be characterized as primarily “metalworking.” The data show that in the textile enterprises of Petersburg province, from 1895 to 1905 labour conflicts occurred 30% more often than did labour conflicts in metal industry enterprises. That Petersburg province is known in historiography to be a “metalworking” one has nothing to do with the strike activity of metalworkers or textile workers at any specific time: the metalworkers of Petersburg became, in a manner of speaking, more famous than the textile workers, who in fact struck much more, because the First Russian Revolution was ignited in Petersburg in December 1904 by a strike that took place at the Putilov plant (a railway and artillery supplier) in Saint Petersburg. This created the lore of “the metalworkers of Petersburg,” and the city itself forever after

appeared as the most progressive and outstanding sector of the labour movement in Russia.

The second cluster clearly includes the provinces with the highest share of labour conflicts in the metal industry as well as mining and manufacturing industries, while not being related to the textile industry in any sense. The characteristics of this cluster are rather different from the characteristics of the first cluster. Although both clusters have the highest share of labour conflicts as well as participants in labour conflicts, the share of agitation in provinces included in the second cluster is much higher, while the share of labour conflicts with a positive outcome is much lower. It seems that political organizations were more active in metal industry enterprises than in textile industry enterprises. There are certainly reasons for that. Overall, men at that time were much more educated than women, and hence more likely to take in information that was propagated through political agitation. Further, men in general were more independent than women, since the percentage of childless men was higher among metalworkers and workers employed in the mining industry than the percentage of men with dependants among the workers in textile and food industries. The final factor that made workers in the metal and mining industries the main targets of political agitation is that those industries required highly skilled, and thus better-educated, labour than in the textile and food industries; skilled labour was valued by administrations. The provinces that are included in the second cluster are as presented in the table below.

Table 5.2.5. The members of the cluster number 2 for Graph 2.

Members of Cluster Number 2 (mainDBprovinces and Distances from Respective Cluster Center Cluster contains 5 cases	
linkage	Distance
Bakinsk	3.565212
Ekaterinoslavl	2.187546
KHerson	2.216358
Kiev	2.548123
Varshava	2.589498



As can be seen from the table above, according to the indicator of the distances from the respective cluster centre, the core of this cluster is represented by the Ekaterinoslavl' province. The Ekaterinoslavl' province came into the picture due to a historical incident in 1903 – a general strike with thousands of participating workers in the southern part of the Russian Empire with one of the centres in Ekaterinoslavl' that lasted for more than a month. This strike proved that the labour movement has risen to a new, higher stage, and that the struggle of the proletariat had outgrown its local scope, covering a large industrial region of the country. The economic depression severely affected the coal, oil and metallurgical industries in southern Russia, worsened the conditions of the workers and sharply aggravated class distinctions.


The third cluster represents the group of provinces with the highest percentage of labour conflicts in the manufacturing and food industries. As can be seen from the graph that represents the plot of means for each of the defined clusters, the intensity and general dynamics of strike activity in this group of provinces can be described as moderate. It is noteworthy, however, that the agitation element still played a rather significant role. The below table illustrates the members of the third cluster.


Table 5.2.6. The members of the cluster number 3 for the Graph 2.


Members of Cluster Number 3 (mainDBprovinces) and Distances from Respective Cluster Center Cluster contains 12 cases	
linkage	Distance
Har'kov	1.118006
Irkutsk	2.027553
Leefliandsk	0.878395
Minsk	1.258583
Mogilev	1.284096
Oblast Voisqa Donsqogo	1.089095
Orlov	1.023320
Perm'	2.082594
Petrokovsk	2.417099
Tifliss	0.806009
Vilensk	2.578216
Vitebsk	1.182832

The last cluster, number four, as mentioned above includes the group of provinces with the lowest rate of strike activity in the country. This cluster includes the majority of provinces mainly representing the small enterprises in semi-developed industrial regions of Russia.

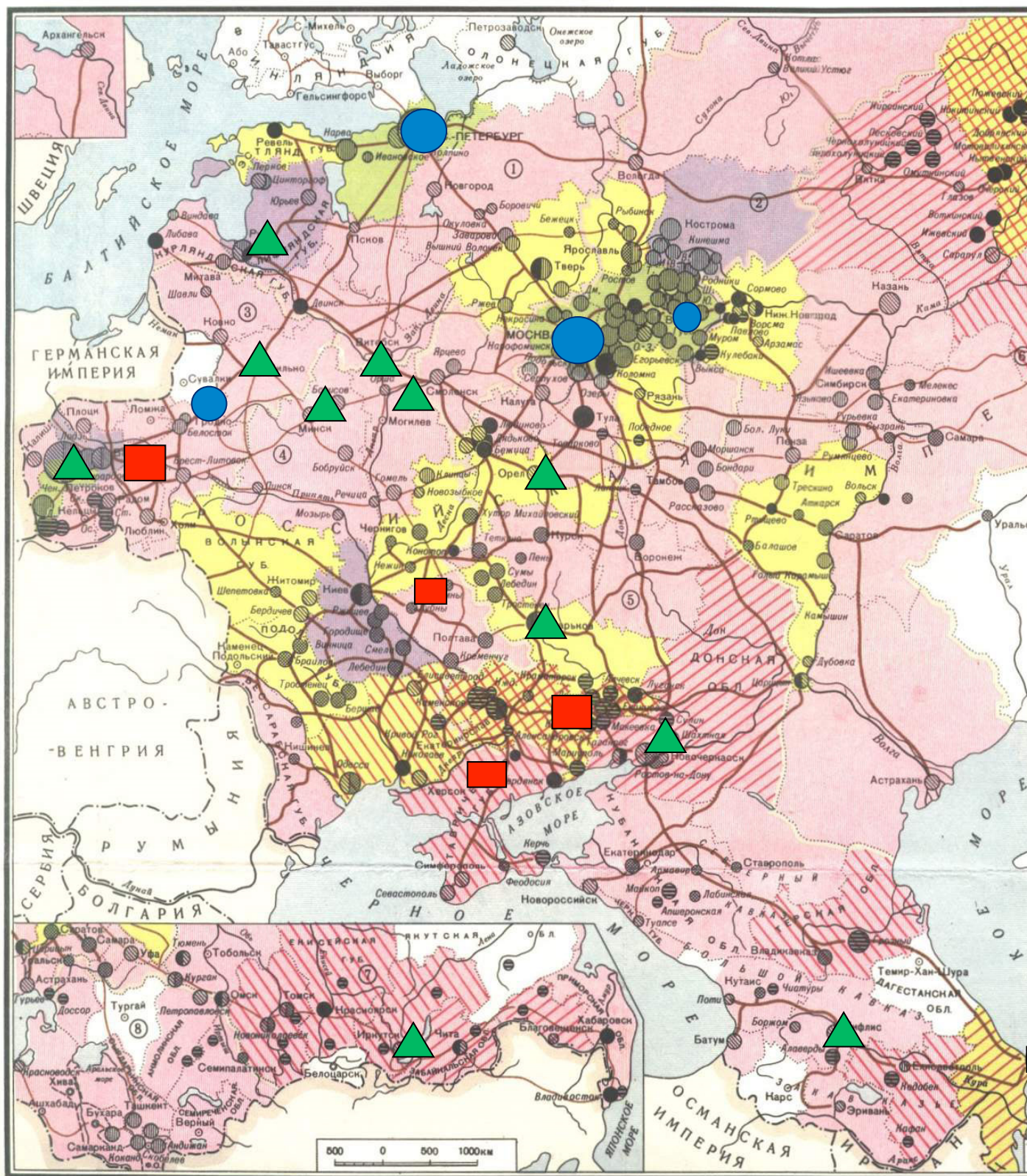
Agenda for the map:

Provinces included in Cluster 1: 

Provinces included in Cluster 2: 

Provinces included in Cluster 3: 

# ИНДУСТРИАЛЬНЫЙ ПРОЛЕТАРИАТ РОССИИ НАКАНУНЕ ПЕРВОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ



Above, a map of the Russian Empire at the beginning of World War I is presented, along with the geographical identification of all provinces for each cluster. As can be seen from the map, each cluster includes the provinces of different districts, diverging in this way from the common political division of the territories. This is an important finding, since traditionally regional analyses of strike activity follow the pattern of political division. Our analysis establishes a new model of regional distribution that is based on the particular features portrayed by each regional unit (province) in the labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. Those features explain some significant factors and particularities of strike activity in the country at the turn of the century.

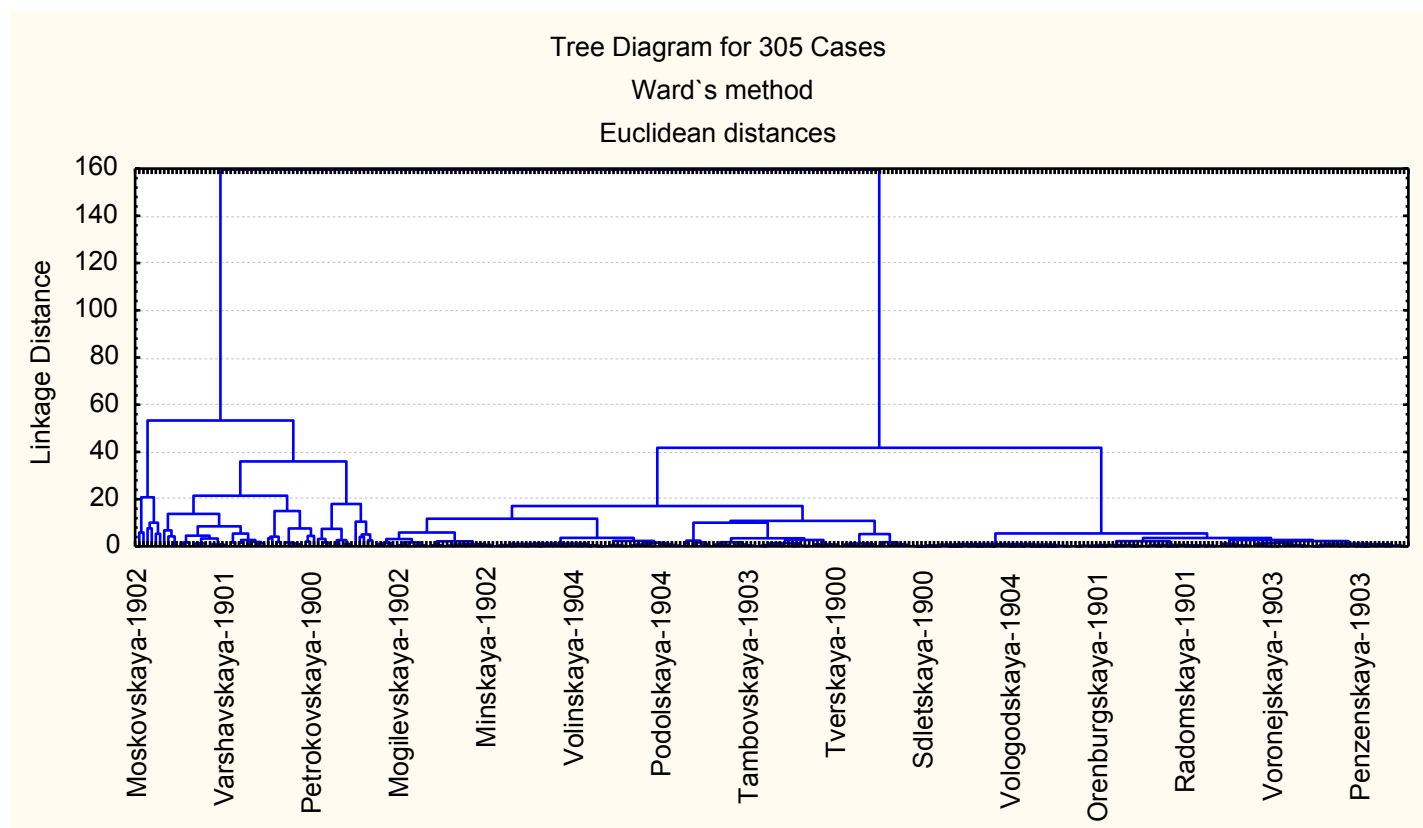
### *5.2.2. Regional structure of the labour movement in Russia based on the materials of the "Collection"*

The results of the cluster analysis performed on the materials of the "Collection" yields similar results, confirming the hypothesis that Moscow and Saint Petersburg province were the leaders in strike activity.

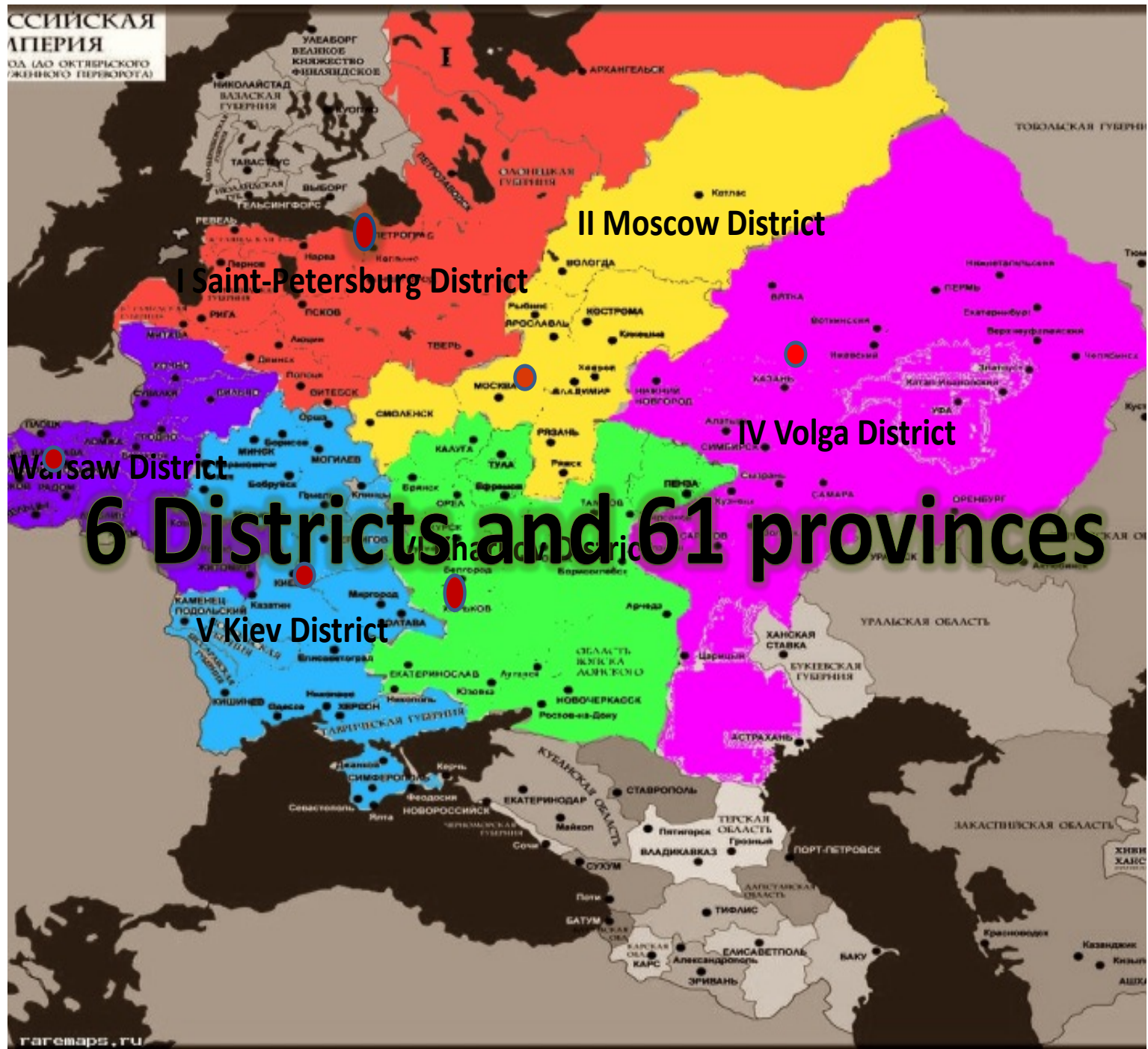
Factor analysis was performed in order to determine the main factors to use for building the clusters. Thus, eight variables were used for the cluster analysis: share of workers occupied in mining, share of workers occupied in metalworking, share of workers occupied in textile, number of registered accidents, number of strikes, percentage of female workers in the province, number of enterprises in the province, share of workers who were fined. The cluster analysis aimed to reveal the territorial structure of strike activity in Russia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Each cluster represents the group of provinces with different parameters, among which the most interesting for the purpose of the research is the number of strikes. In the end, five clusters were built, and two clusters were chosen as the ones having the highest strike activity. As expected, the first cluster was formed by Moscow and Petersburg provinces, while the second cluster had two centres – in today's Poland where the textile industry was concentrated, and in today's Ukraine with the metalworking industrial centres. The interpretation of the results is as follows: the regions with the highest literacy rates appeared to be the most active in strike activity, as was expected. The results of the cluster analysis are provided below, while the map with the centres of the clusters can be seen in the Appendix of the thesis. To conclude, the first hypothesis regarding the leading position of workers of Saint Petersburg and Moscow was confirmed with a statistical analysis of the materials presented in the "Collection".



**Graph 5.2.7.. Cluster Analysis for the 61 provinces according to the materials of the Factory Inspectorate 1900-1905**

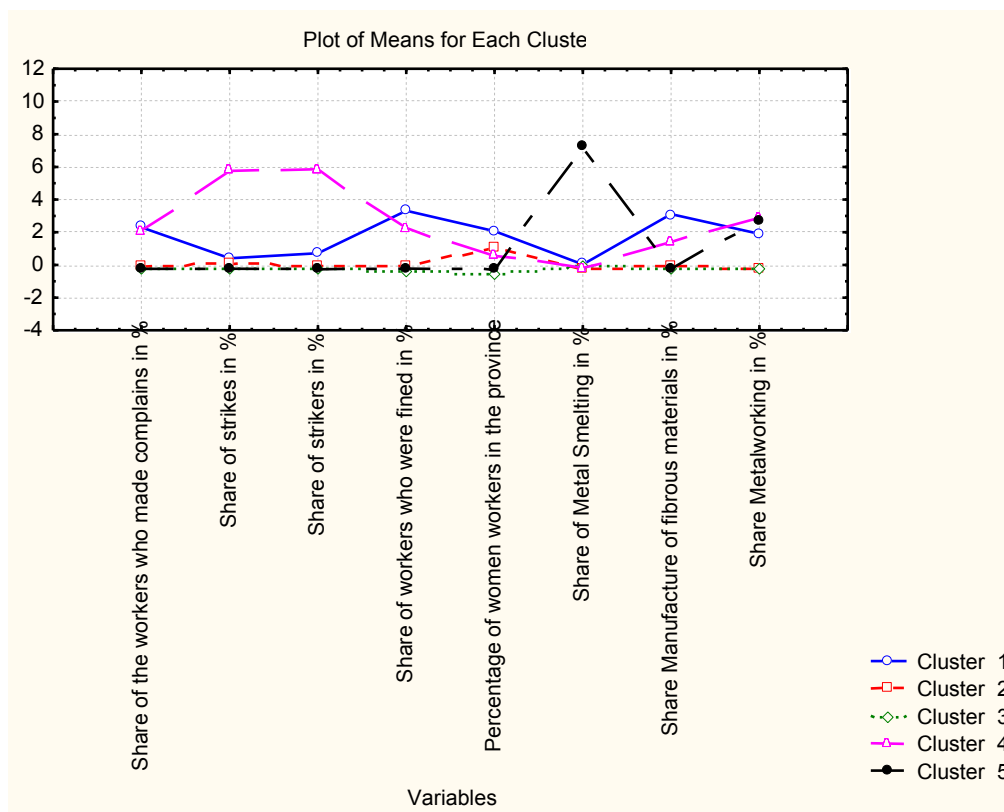


The map below showing the six main districts of Russian Empire is intended to facilitate an understanding of the political division of Russian territories into districts.



As can be seen from the plot of means of the cluster analysis depicted below, the provinces can be divided into five major groups by factor variables that were determined during the previous stage of statistical analysis. It is obvious that in provinces where workers were employed in metalworking, the intensity of labour conflicts was relatively high, as compared to the other provinces of the Russian Empire. Conversely, workers who were employed in metal smelting had the lowest rate of participation in strike activity in the years 1900-1905. The plot of means shows as well that workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous materials had, after metal workers, the highest rate of labour conflicts. It is quite interesting that both metal and textile workers who made complaints have the same rates, and for the parameter of "share of workers who were fined," workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous materials were in the lead.

*Graph 5.2.8. Plot of means of cluster analysis for the 65 provinces according to the materials of the Factory Inspectorate 1900-1905*





*The list of the provinces included in the five clusters*

- **Cluster 1:** Vilensk, Grodnensk, Kiev, Herson, Bakinsk (5 cases)
- **Cluster 2:** Arkhangelsk, Vitebsk, Kurlandsk, Lifliandsk, Novgorod, Olonetsk, Pskov, Tver', Estliandsk, Vologodsk, Smolensk, Yaroslavsk, Vilensk, Kalish, Kovno, Kletsk, Lomginsk, Lublinsk, Plotsk, Radom, Suvalsk, Sdletsk, Astrakhan', Viatsk, Kazan', Nijegorodsk, Orenburg, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Ufinsk, Bessarab, Volinsk, Kiev, Minsk, Mogilev, Podolsk, Poltavsk, Tavrich, Herson, Chernigov, Bakinsk, Voronej, Kaluga, Kursk, Orlov, Penza, Tambov, Tula, Kharkov (241 cases)
- **Cluster 3:** Perm', Don, Ekaterinoslavl (49 cases)
- **Cluster 4:** Saint-Petersburg, Moscow (10 cases)
- **Cluster 5:** Vladimir, Kostroma, Ryazan', Varshava, Grodnensk, Petrokovsk, Tver', Lifliandsk (34 cases)

We see that the cluster analysis has once again confirmed the hypothesis concerning the leading position of workers employed in Moscow and Saint Petersburg enterprises. Clearly, the workers of these two regions had the highest rate of strike activity among the workers in the Russian Empire. That Moscow and Saint Petersburg had very large enterprises with high concentrations of workers and, in addition, that the workers in these cities were better educated and more qualified than the workers in other regions may help to explain this finding.

### 5.2.3. *Conclusions.*

To conclude this part, the cluster analysis performed on all 80 provinces of the Russian Empire, enables us to create a regional division of the whole territory of the Russian Empire that will include four major groups, each representing strike activity and the particularities of the labour conflicts in the region. By means of the interpretation of the statistical results, four working hypothesis regarding the regional particularities of labour movement in Russia were tested:

1. The hypothesis regarding the leading position of Moscow and Petersburg in the labour movement was confirmed; both provinces appeared in the first cluster, which represents the provinces with the highest rate of strikers and strike activity. It turns out that Petersburg was not representative of the metal industry, as the majority of striking workers in the region were employed in textile industry enterprises.
2. The hypothesis regarding metal workers striking more often than workers employed in the other branches of industry was refuted, since according to the cluster analysis, workers in the textile industry were much more active than the “metalists”. However, metal workers were consistently better organized, and so the strikes in metal industry enterprises were often followed by large general strikes in the region.
3. The hypothesis regarding the leading position of male workers in strike activity was not refuted, though some emendations should be made regarding the nature of the strike activity by gender: male workers struck as often as female workers, or less, but since they enjoyed higher rates of literacy, work experience and better qualifications, they were more exposed than female workers to the activities and propaganda of political organizations and parties, and were thus comparatively more organized.

4. The hypothesis regarding the work of political organizations and parties being concentrated on workers employed in the metal industry was confirmed, as the highest percentage of agitation registered in the records of labour conflicts appeared in the enterprises of the metal branch of industry.

### 5.3. Major influencing factors in the labour movement in Russia, based on the materials of the "Collection"

The third hypothesis that will be tested in the current chapter concerns the impact of political agitation on the intensity of the labour movement in Russia within the decade before the revolution of 1905. During the period of vivid interest in labour questions that can be defined as the "Soviet Period" in historiography, it was not only common, but as well necessary to assume that the growth of the labour movement was not only influenced but even was caused by political propaganda. This hypothesis appears most interesting to investigate, since it was so widespread<sup>195</sup>. As statistical analysis has not yet been done to confirm or refute this famous notion, the results of the current research can meaningfully and substantially contribute to knowledge of the labour question in Russia before the First Russian Revolution.

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<sup>195</sup> See for example: Wildman, Allan K., *The Making of a Worker's Revolution: Russian Social Democracy, 1891-1903*, (Chicago, 1967); Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève France 1871-1890*, (Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1974), two volumes. Schwartz, Solomon, *The Russian Revolution of 1905: The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, (Chicago and London, 1967); *The Formation of Labor Movements 1870-1914*, edited by Marcel Van Der Linden and Jurgen Rojahn, (Amsterdam, 1990); Schneiderman, J., *Sergey Zubatov and Revolutionary Marxist: The Struggle for the Working Class in Tzarist Russia*, (Ithaca, N.Y., London, 1976); Borodkin L.I. Volny stachechnogo dvizheniia v Rossii kontsa 19 – nachala 20 vv.: o roli informatsionnykh faktorov // *Rabochie v Rossii: istoricheskiĭ opyt i sovremennoe polozhenie* / ed. CHurakova. M., Editorial URSS, 2004; *Strikes, wars, and revolutions in an international perspective : strike waves in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, edited by Leopold H. Haimson, Charles Tilly, (Cambridge University Press; Paris : Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1989). *Kratkaya istoriya rabocheho klassa v Rossii*. M., 1962; *Istoriya rabocheho klassa Rossii. 1861 – 1900 gg.* M., 1972; *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v 1901 – 1904 gg.* L., 1975; *Stachechnoe dvizhenie rabochih Rossii*. M., 1986. T. 1-2.

We chose to use factor analysis to test the hypothesis of the impact of political propaganda on the intensity and development of the labour movement in the Russian Empire from 1895 to 1905. The graph below presents the results of the performed factor analysis, which allows us to identify the main factors that influenced the development and intensity of the labour movement. As can be seen, among the eight factors that were determined to be the key ones for the Russian labour movement, political agitation or political propaganda do not figure in at all. This leads us to the conclusion that according to the statistical analysis of the materials presented in the "Collection," from 1900 to 1905, political agitation did not trigger the development and growth of labour conflicts in the Russian Empire. Hence, this well-entrenched hypothesis appears to be refuted. However, as the current result was based on a much-aggregated set of data, it is essential to keep in mind that the result might have been caused by the particularity of the source itself, and the absence of more detailed statistical materials regarding the researched issue. This will be shown at the end of the current research paper, after the statistical analysis of the better, more detailed set of data presented in the "Chronicle".

*Graph 5.3.1. Factor analysis for the 65 provinces according to the materials of the Factory Inspectorate 1900-1905*



Another factor analysis was performed so as to distil from the above-noted eight factors the three main ones. The outcome of this analysis was quite exciting, in light of the results of the correlation analysis conducted at the beginning of current chapter. This factor analysis confirms that three major factors influenced the development and the intensity of the Russian labour movement:

- First factor: It is intuitive that the total number of workers employed in enterprises in a given province would have had a positive impact on the intensity of the labour movement. But what is interesting is that it appears that such factors as the number of workers who registered complaints and the number of workers who were fined had a strong positive influence on the development of the labour movement in Russia. Perhaps workers who had a tendency to make complaints to the Institute of the Factory Inspectorate were more aware of their needs, on the one hand, and more aware of violations incurred by the administration, on the other hand. The number of workers who were fined as well has a significant positive impact on labour intensity, and it is possible that the workers who were capable of violating a work order were also more likely to go on strike. Here, we will call this factor the "level of impatience and self-awareness of workers". Thus we can conclude that Factor 1, representing the absolute number of workers employed in a given enterprise, as well as representing the percentage of workers with less patience and higher ambitions than others, had a positive impact on the development of the labour movement in Russia in the defined period;

- Second Factor: Factor analysis, as well as the previously performed correlation analysis confirms that workers employed in the metal smelting and mining industries made up a specific group of workers and that their impact had a negative effect on the development of labour movement in Russia before the Revolution of 1905. That these workers were less qualified and literate than those in the other branches of industry in Russia at the turn of the century may well explain this point.
- Third Factor: Since the year dummy was placed in the database, we can see that between 1895 and 1903, the development of the labour movement shifted. In 1903, the structure of the labour movement changed, and other factors started determining its intensity and growth. We can assume that political agitation started playing a major role. Due to the absence of data on the political element in the source, we see it as a factor concentrated in 1903, and thus a key factor in the development of the labour movement in Russia.

As can be seen from Table 1 presented below, the factor analysis of the labour conflicts in the Russian Empire based on the materials of the "Collection" explain only 57% of the whole dispersion of the variables. Thus, it is obvious that there are some variables and some parameters that were not included in the model. As we know that the element of political agitation was not taken into account in the "Collection," we can conclude that it had a strong influence on the development and intensity of the labour movement. This can be verified after the statistical analysis of the source where this parameter is present will be conducted; in other words, after the statistical analysis of the materials collected in "Chronicle" is presented.

The graphical results of this analysis are provided in the table below.

Table 5.3.2. The results of the factor analysis determining three major factors in the structure of the labour movement in Russia before the Revolution of 1905 (years 1900 to 1905).

Variable	Factor Loadings (Unrotated) (BDArche in Arche-dummy) Extraction: Principal components (Marked loadings are >.700000)		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
<b><u>Number of workers</u></b>	0.956495	0.091049	-0.140138
<b><u>Size of the enterprises</u></b>	0.587096	0.068825	-0.205206
<b><u>Number of the workers who made complains</u></b>	0.813912	0.053838	-0.032113
<b><u>Number of strikes</u></b>	0.531616	0.075096	0.600564
<b><u>Number of strikers</u></b>	0.608830	0.015410	0.525358
<b><u>Number of registered violations of management</u></b>	0.781466	-0.071639	0.087925
<b><u>Number of workers who were fined</u></b>	0.944773	0.107317	-0.152136
<b><u>Number of registered accidents</u></b>	0.748184	-0.097170	-0.042168
<b><u>Percentage of women workers in the province</u></b>	0.541064	0.328396	-0.261191
<b><u>Number of workers occupied in Ore and Colliery Mining</u></b>	0.131786	-0.896676	-0.050807
<b><u>Metal Smelting</u></b>	0.043717	-0.901017	-0.065113
<b><u>Manufacture of fibrous materials</u></b>	0.845359	0.168843	-0.194624
<b><u>Metalworking</u></b>	0.770014	-0.463848	0.012360
1900	-0.067513	-0.001853	-0.313787
1901	0.006927	0.003459	-0.193210
1902	0.004290	-0.003610	-0.196951
1903	0.047109	0.018134	0.742428
Expl. Var	6.264797	2.015615	1.570966
Prp. Totl	0.368517	0.118566	0.092410



#### **5.4. Yearly variability of the factors influencing the number of labour conflicts and the number of participants in strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia (based on the materials of the "Collection")**

It is always interesting to look at any social phenomenon from a comparative perspective. Labour movements are no exception to this rule. Thus, by means of the regression analysis we shall test if the hypothesis regarding the bigger impact of metal workers versus textile workers on the development of the labour movement in Russia on the eve of the 1905 Revolution is true or false. We will assume here that for several reasons, metal workers went on strike more than textile workers. The reasons could be as follows: the great majority of Russian metalworkers at the studied time were male, while a considerable number of textile workers were female. Male metalworkers were more educated than female and male textile workers, and thus were more ambitious, receptive to propaganda and experienced. In addition, female workers might have been more patient than male workers, and, since they typically had dependents at home, also might have been more concerned about loss of job due to strike activity. Nevertheless, all these assumptions are theoretical.

The first step of the analysis of the regression model was built to determine the factors that most influenced strike activity in the provinces. Two models were built for each of the years, and in the end for the five-year period. The first model takes the number of strikers as the dependent variable, while the second one has the number of strikes as one. In both cases, the analysed cases are the provinces, while the independent variables were chosen according to their relevance. In order to avoid the mistake of choosing variables with a high correlation coefficient, the correlation matrix was built for each pair of the variables that might have had a strong correlation. The results of the correlation matrix are presented below.

**Table 5.4.1. Correlation matrix for the independent variables considered for the regression model based on the materials of the "Collection."**

Variable	Correlations (DB_ProvincesWb) Marked correlations are significant at $p < .07000$ N=305 (Casewise deletion of missing data)							
	Number of enterprises	Complains on workers	Complains from workers	Strikes	Participants	Violations of management	Workers fined	Percentage of male workers in the province
Workers	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.8</b>	0.4	0.5	<b>0.7</b>	<b>1.0</b>	-0.5
Strikes	0.4	0.4	0.3	1.0	<b>0.7</b>	0.5	0.4	-0.2
Participants	0.4	0.4	0.5	<b>0.7</b>	1.0	0.4	0.5	-0.2
Women workers in the province	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.6	-1.0
Ore and Colliery Mining	0.1	0.1	0.0	-0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Metal Smelting	-0.0	-0.0	-0.0	-0.0	-0.0	0.0	-0.0	0.1
Manufacture of fibrous materials	<b>0.8</b>	0.6	<b>0.7</b>	0.3	0.4	0.5	<b>0.9</b>	-0.6
Metalworking	<b>0.7</b>	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.5	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.7</b>	-0.1

As can be seen from the correlation matrix, there is strong negative correlation between such variables as number of male workers and number of female workers. Obviously, these two variables are correlated, which shows that the correlation coefficient has a very high value. Also clear is that there is a strong positive correlation between two variables: number of enterprises and number of workers. As can be seen from the table, the correlation coefficient  $r$  equals 0.9 (very high). It is interesting to note that between the parameter that indicates the share of workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous materials and the parameter of "share of workers who were fined," as well as the "share of workers who made complaints," there is a strong positive correlation, again highlighting that textile workers complained more than other workers and additionally, they constituted the group of workers that was fined much more than others. Another interesting point is the strong positive correlation

between the share of labour conflicts in the metalworking industry and the share of labour conflicts where management violations were recorded.

According to the matrix, in some models the variable “number of enterprises in province” was taken while in some the “number of workers in province” was used, based on the highest p-level of each variable. It was unexpected that neither “the share of workers employed in metalworking” correlated strongly with “the share of workers employed in metal smelting,” nor “the share of workers employed in metal smelting” correlated strongly with “the share of workers employed in the ore and colliery mining industry”, as demonstrated by the correlation analysis at the beginning of the current chapter. Obviously, the percentage of male workers was directly correlated with the percentage of female workers in the province. After the determination of the independent variables, the regression model was built. The table below represents the variables that were chosen for the model:

1. Coefficient for number of enterprises in the province OR  
coefficient for the number of workers in the province
2. Size of the enterprises in the province
3. Share of workers about whom the complaints were made
4. Share of workers who made complaints
5. Share of registered accidents
6. Share of registered violations of management
7. Share of workers who were fined
8. Share of workers employed in ore and colliery mining
9. Share of workers employed in metal smelting
10. Share of workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous  
materials
11. Share of workers employed in metalworking
12. Percentage of female workers in the province

+

## 1. Dummy variable for year

The variables for the regression model were chosen on the basis of the intention to include in the model only statistically significant variables, and taking into account the multicollinearity<sup>196</sup> of the factors within the model.

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<sup>196</sup> Multicollinearity is a statistical phenomenon in which two or more predictor variables in a multiple regression model are highly correlated, meaning that one can be linearly predicted from the others with a non-trivial degree of accuracy. In this situation the coefficient estimates may change erratically in response to small changes in the model or the data.

#### 5.4.1. Year 1900

Further on, the regression models for the two studied indicators (number of participants in strike activity and number of labour conflicts) will be presented in chronological order. The materials in the "Collection" allow us to follow the dynamics within five pre-revolutionary years.

**Table 5.4.2. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts for 1900, based on the materials of the "Collection."**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.059 (0.166)
Workers complained	<b>0.951*** (0.197)</b>
Accidents	<b>0.614*** (0.188)</b>
Management violations	0.142 (0.145)
Workers in metalworking Industry	0.279 (0.295)
Workers in textile industry	0.033 (0.296)
Workers in metal smelting	<b>0.293** (0.127)</b>
Workers in ore and colliery mining	0.128 (0.120)
Fined	<b>0.604* (0.345)</b>
Male	<b>-1.996*** (0.473)</b>
N observations	61
R	0.89
R2	0.80
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

As can be seen, the regression model can be considered statistically significant with five significant independent variables with a p-level less than 0.05. The fraction of the variation in the dependent variable (participants in labour conflicts) that is predicted by the independent variables (R-Squared) is high, and equals 80%. From the results of the regression analysis, it becomes obvious that in year 1900 the number of participants in labour conflicts was triggered by the percentage of accidents in a given province and share of workers that had been fined, and was positively related to such variables as complaints made by workers. These findings can be easily explained. Consequent to production accidents, the administration typically redistributed worker duties such that production would not be interrupted. In this way, the workers worked more for the same wages. In addition, compassion for a co-worker, who may have been injured due to questionable factory conditions, doubtless triggered waves of discontent among workers. A demonstration that took place in mid-November of 1896 in Warsaw<sup>197</sup> further exemplifies this point. This action was triggered by the death of worker who died while operating a roller-crushing machine in one of the city's metal factories. As many as four thousand workers participated in a procession, following the coffin on the streets of Warsaw up to the cemetery. Red ribbons and a wreath with the inscription, "To our dearest comrade in ideas; to the victim of capitalism" was placed atop the coffin. Importantly, the official reports noted that the demonstrators "...behaved quietly and calmly and did not break any laws"<sup>198</sup>. Nevertheless, the police force was ordered to intervene. One hundred policemen stopped the demonstrators, and the ribbons were torn from the coffin. Here, then, is a clear instance of the workers' capacity for peaceful solidarity and common consciousness in sorrow.

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<sup>197</sup> *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895-fevral' 1917 g. Hronika. Vyp. II: "1896 god". (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005, P. 104.*

<sup>198</sup> Listok "Rabotnika". 1896. №2. P.5.

Regarding the second shown variable – complaints made by workers – it is possible to say: in enterprises in which a relatively large percentage of worker complaints were recorded, the level of emotional discontent was relatively high, therefore the workers had a tendency to participate in labour conflicts. It is quite logical that enterprises with a relatively large share of workers who are class-conscious enough to make complaints will also have a relatively high rate of worker participation in strike activity. The share of fined workers also had a positive impact on the number of strikers. This can be understood when considering that administrations might have had a tendency to punish misbehaviour in certain ways. Workers in those enterprises might have been well aware of the measures that could be taken against them, and consequently could have been more cautious in participating in strike activity. An unexpected result was the negative impact of the share of the male workers in the province on the number of strikers. It is common to assume that male workers were more educated, and thus more susceptible to propaganda and agitation. This made male workers much more active members in strike activity than female workers. The results of the regression for the year 1900 show that this was not always the case.

**Table 5.4.3. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes in the year 1900, based on the materials of the "Collection."**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	<b>0.380** (0.176)</b>
Workers complained	0.117 (0.206)
Accidents	0.306 (0.199)
Management violations	-0.068 (0.150)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	0.382 (0.308)

Workers in Textile	<b>-0.981** (0.461)</b>
Workers in Metal Smelting	-0.10 (0.133)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.132 (0.131)
Fined	-0.074 (0.363)
Male	-0.717 (0.566)
Female	<b>1.517** (0.709)</b>
N observations	61
R	0.88
R2	0.78
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

The results of the regression model for the dependant variable “Strikes” for year 1900 differ from the previous model. As can be seen, the regression model can be considered statistically significant, since there are three variables with a p-level less than 0.05, and R2 around 80%. As in the previous model, the variable representing the share of complaints has a strong positive impact on the number of labour conflicts in the province, the only difference being that now it is about the complaints made by the management about the workers. It is possible that the workers about whom complaints were made provoked or even organizing strikes in these enterprises. The share of female workers in the province has a very high coefficient, and positively influenced the number of labour conflicts. Once again, the results of the regression counter the hypothesis that male workers were much more active in the Russian labour movement than their female counterparts. This is not true for 1900, as can be seen in the table presented above. The share of workers employed in the textile industry has a strong negative correlation with the dependant variable. Perhaps this can be explained as



follows: in 1901, workers in this branch of industry did not go on strike more than workers in other sectors of Russian industry. It is possible, then, that strike activity during year 1901 was minimal in the manufacturing of fibrous materials sector.

#### 5.4.2. Year 1901

The results of the regression analysis for the year 1901 show the differences and transitions that had occurred in the labour movement within one year.

The regression model built for the dependant variable “Participants in labour conflicts” was based on the same source of data, but for the different year presents quite a different outcome from the one for year 1900. The table with the results is presented below.

**Table 5.4.4. Dependant variable representing the number of the participants in labour conflicts for 1901, based on the materials of the "Collection".**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.023 (0.126)
Workers complained	-0.225 (0.261)
Accidents	0.589*** (0.182)
Management violations	-0.523*** (0.138)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.089 (0.302)
Workers in Textile	-0.789*** (0.276)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.023 (0.127)

Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.498*** (0.109)
Fined	-0.249 (0.320)
Male	1.741*** (0.492)
N observations	61
R	0.90
R2	0.82
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

As can be seen from the table, the regression model can be considered statistically significant since p-level of five variables is less than 0.05 and R2 is around 80%. The meaning and explanation of the first significant variable in the model “accidents” is the same as in previous models. It seems that this factor played an important role within two years. Another variable, ‘number of registered violations of management’ had a negative impact on the dependant variable. This could be explained by the psychological assumption that workers might have felt more anxious in the enterprises in which management constantly violated rules. Conversely, if the management did not push the workers overly much, perhaps they felt freer to stand up for their rights and interests. The third and fourth significant variables that had a negative impact on the number of participants in labour conflicts correspond to the share of workers employed in the textile as well as in the ore and colliery mining industries. In 1901, unlike in the previous year, one may observe a considerable positive impact of male workers in the province on the share of the participants.

**Table 5.4.5. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes for the year 1901, based on the materials of the "Collection."**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.135 (0.240)
Workers complained	0.424) (0.495)
Accidents	0.238 (0.346)
Management violations	-0.050 (0.261)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.202 (0.573)
Workers in Textile	-0.645 (0.524)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.193 (0.241)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.322 (0.207)
Fined	-0.385 (0.607)
Male	
Female	<b>0.350** (0.171)</b>
N observations	61
R	0.59
R2	0.35
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

The results of the conducted regression analysis for the dependant variable “Strikes” for 1901 are presented in the table above. It is obvious that the regression model can be considered statistically significant, since  $R^2$  is around 35%, which means that the model explains approximately one-third of the changes in the dependant variable “strikes”. After the results of the performed cluster analysis, that female workers had very high strike intensity is no surprise. Notably, however, this finding contravenes the most famous hypothesis regarding the unquestionable leadership of male workers in all aspects of labour movement in Pre-Revolutionary Russia. As can be seen, the factor determining the share of female workers has a very strong positive impact on strikes in the year 1901.

A proper interpretation of the results of the regression analysis, as well as a comparison of the results for the different branches of Russian industry requires a clear understanding of the interrelations and balance of labour forces in those industries. For this purpose we include a table that was presented in the third chapter of the current survey,<sup>199</sup> with the data on the number of workers employed in each branch of Russian industry for the timeframe delimited by our research.

As can be seen from the table, in 1901 almost twice as many workers were employed in the textile industry as in the metalworking industry. In order to avoid the mistake of assuming that the majority of textile workers were female, we shall keep in mind that the majority of workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous materials were indeed male. It is a fact that the majority of female workers were employed in the textile industry, and that the maximum concentration of the female labour force was there. But it is important not to use the gender factor in the interpretation and analysis of these results. However, this rule does not apply to the metalworking industry, since the great majority of workers employed there were male. In this way, we may say state that while the metal industry in pre-revolutionary Russia had the features of the male labour force, the textile industry at this time was mixed, and

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<sup>199</sup> See Chapter III, p. 145.

therefore cannot be viewed in the framework of gender specification. This is demonstrated in a table in Chapter III of the current research,<sup>200</sup> which represents the data from the population census of 1897 in the Russian Empire.

Nonetheless, female workers in other branches of Russian industry (e.g., the food industry, flavouring industry, chemical industry, paper industry, manufacturing industry and others) seemed to be very active in strike activity and labour conflicts in general during 1901. This was shown by cluster analysis, as well in the previous chapter of the current research.

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<sup>200</sup> See Chapter III, p. 147.

### 5.4.3. Year 1902

The next year to be examined is 1902. It would be interesting to see if there are any changes in the factors that influenced the number of participants in the labour movement or the number of labour conflicts.

**Table 5.4.6. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts for 1902, based on the materials of the "Collection."**

<i>Independent Variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.246 (0.180)
Workers complained	0.378 (0.296)
Accidents	-0.027 (0.195)
Management violations	-0.113 (0.135)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.350 (0.300)
Workers in Textile	0.412 (0.335)
Workers in Metal Smelting	<b>-0.234* (0.131)</b>
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	0.152 (0.120)
Fined	<b>-1.010*** (0.336)</b>
Male	<b>1.100** (0.493)</b>
N observations	61
R	0.89
R2	0.80
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

The table above shows the results of the performed regression analysis of the dependant variable, “participants in labour conflicts” for 1902. The model is statistically significant, since  $R^2$  is around 80%, which is very high. There was a negative impact, however, on the share of workers who were fined. After being fined, workers might have attempted to remain calm and not to act, fearing for their jobs (again, strikes were illegal in pre-revolutionary Russia) or to be fined again and for even higher rate. In 1902, male workers seem to take a greater organizational role in labour movement activity, and also seem to participate more – the variable defining the share of male workers has a significant positive impact on number of participants in strikes. The last significant variable representing the share of workers in metal smelting has a negative impact on the dependant variable. Workers in the metal smelting industry had low rates of literacy and education, and were usually considered unskilled. Thus, they were easily replaced by other (unskilled) workers, and were afraid to lose their jobs, as well as being quite unreceptive towards political agitation and propaganda.

**Table 5.4.7. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes for the year 1902, based on the materials of the "Collection."**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.307 (0.252)
Workers complained	-0.017 (0.415)
Accidents	<b>-0.554**</b> <b>(0.273)</b>
Management violations	<b>0.364*</b> <b>(0.190)</b>
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.682 (0.421)
Workers in Textile	-0.585 (0.471)



Workers in Metal Smelting	<b>-0.337*</b> <b>(0.184)</b>
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	0.255 (0.169)
Fined	0.383 (0.472)
Male	<b>1.252*</b> <b>(0.692)</b>
Female	
N observations	61
R	0.78
R2	0.62
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

As to the strikes in year 1902, from the table above it is possible to say that completely different factors influenced the strike activity. The model is statistically significant: the coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) is around 60%, which means that more than half of the changes in the dependant variable can be explained by the regression model. The p-level of three extracted variables is less than 0.05, which makes the model statistically relevant. As in the previous regression model for the dependant variable “participants in labour conflicts” for the year 1902, the share of male workers had a strong positive impact and the variable representing the share of workers occupied in metal smelting had a negative impact once again. The explanation here is the same as in the former case. The level of violations by the management of the enterprise had a positive impact. The explanation is as follows: by 1902, the economic recession in the country started to decrease, so workers felt more secure about reacting to the violations of the management. For instance, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of

September 1902, in Tomsk<sup>201</sup>, a strike was called in response to the discontent of workers with the headmaster of the factory's publishing facility. Of the 40 workers employed in this facility, six had signed a strike petition requesting that the headmaster be fired. Rudeness of their superior and unfair treatment, including unfair distribution of wage rates were salient points in the petition. Although the requirements of workers were not satisfied, an investigation of the Factory Inspectorate took place in that same month. Thus, the workers dared to present their complaints of mistreatment at the hands of the administration, and, eventually, these complaints were given due consideration.

In 1902, more and more strikes were triggered by discrimination and disrespectful behaviour of the administration, though the main role was played by economic factors such as lowering of wages, not paying salary on time, not giving proper medical care, and so on.

Particular attention should be paid to the negative influence of the variable representing the share of accidents that took place at the enterprises on the number of strikes. As can be seen from the results of the regression performed for the dependant variable "participants in labour conflicts", the occurrence of accidents always played an important role, and positively influenced the engagement of workers in the strike movement. Accidents trigger solidarity among workers as well as pushing their emotional discontent to the point at which they feel ready to participate in labour activity.

Further, before the Revolution, the labour law in the Russian Empire did not obligate management to pay for medical insurance, or provide financial compensation for workers in case of accident during labour. In many cases, the workers resorted to collecting money for the family of the worker who had been injured and thus was not

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<sup>201</sup> *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895-fevral' 1917 g. Hronika. Vyp. VII: "1902 god". (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005, P. 174.*

able to provide for his family or even himself anymore. Last but not least, some factors that might explain such a great impact of accidents on the engagement of workers in labour conflicts include the possibility of being re-injured on the same machine, and the distribution of labour among non-injured workers after accidents. It is thus quite a surprise to observe how this factor negatively influenced the number of strikes. Perhaps the “quality vs. quantity” concept can explain this unexpected finding. That is, a large number of labour conflicts does not necessarily imply that a large number of workers participated in the conflicts.

#### 5.4.4. Year 1903

1903 is an important year for analysis, as this is considered a transitional year for the labour movement and strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia. This was the year when general and common strikes took place, and the organized behaviour of workers was marked as more organized than spontaneous.

**Table 5.4.8. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts for 1903 based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.178 (0.129)
Workers complained	<b>0.748***</b> <b>(0.224)</b>
Accidents	0.107 (0.235)
Management violations	<b>0.281 **</b> <b>(0.122)</b>
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.228 (0.247)
Workers in Textile	0.277 (0.362)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.022 (0.183)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	0.037 (0.165)
Fined	-0.299 (0.497)
Female	-0.157 (0.105)
N observations	61
R	0.84
R <sup>2</sup>	0.72
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i>	

$$\left| \begin{array}{l} \text{**significant at 5\% (P<0.05)} \\ \text{***significant at 1\% (p<0.01)} \end{array} \right|$$

The results of the regression analysis for the dependant variable, “Participants in labour conflicts” for year 1903 are presented in the table above. It is obvious that the regression model can be considered statistically significant, since the p-level of both extracted variables is less than 0.05 and R2 is around 70%, which is very high. As for the model of year 1900, the variable defining the share of workers who made complaints had a positive impact on the dependant variable. The explanation is the same: if there is a noticeable tendency at the workplace for workers to complain, it means that the level of their discontent is very high and they are more likely to engage in labour movement activities. In addition, it is obvious that workers who are capable of filing complaints against the management are aware of the problems (the majority of cases were economic in nature) they are facing and have the ability to do something about it. The interpretation is the same as for the former models. In contrast to 1901, in 1903 the share of recorded violations by the management had a positive impact on the number of strikers, as for the three regression models with the dependant variable “strikes”.

**Table 5.4.9. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes for the year 1903, based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	<b>0.228*</b> <b>(0.128)</b>
Workers complained	<b>0.415*</b> <b>(0.221)</b>

Accidents	<b>-0.586**</b> <b>(0.232)</b>
Management violations	<b>0.852***</b> <b>(0.121)</b>
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.158 (0.244)
Workers in Textile	0.352 (0.358)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.053 (0.181)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.061 (0.163)
Fined	-0.116 (0.491)
Female	-0.042 (0.103)
N observations	61
R	0.85
R2	0.72
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

As to strikes in 1903, from the table above we can say that the factors that started to influence the level of labour conflicts in the country do not significantly vary from the previous years. The model is statistically significant: the coefficient of determination (R2) is around 70%, which is considered to be high, and which means that more than two-thirds of the changes in the dependant variable can be explained by the regression model.

#### 5.4.5. Year 1904

As for the regression models for 1904, we did not succeed in building a statistically significant model, since starting from 1904 the influence of the political factor was dominant, and determined to the greatest extent both phenomena – the level of participation of workers in strike activity and the frequency of occurrence and the number of labour conflicts in the country in general. In order to demonstrate the findings, two tables are presented below.

**Table 5.4.10. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts in 1904, based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.016 (0.271)
Workers complained	-0.43 (0.484)
Accidents	<b>0.855**</b> <b>(0.386)</b>
Management violations	-0.244 (0.222)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	<b>-0.989***</b> <b>(0.391)</b>
Workers in Textile	0.402 (1.019)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.241 (0.299)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.447 (0.258)
Fined	
Male	0.289 (0.122)
N observations	61
R	0.47
R2	0.23

Standard errors are in parentheses.  
 \* significant at 10% ( $p < 0.1$ )  
 \*\*significant at 5% ( $P < 0.05$ )  
 \*\*\*significant at 1% ( $p < 0.01$ )

**Table 5.4.11. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes for the year 1904 based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.379 (0.265)
Workers complained	0.059 (0.459)
Accidents	<b>0.876**</b> <b>(0.410)</b>
Management violations	-0.061 (0.177)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	<b>-1.329**</b> <b>(0.669)</b>
Workers in Textile	-0.131 (0.961)
Workers in Metal Smelting	0.409 (0.295)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.149 (0.246)
Fined	0.115 (0.746)
Male	1.042 (1.164)
N observations	61
R	0.45
R <sup>2</sup>	0.20
Standard errors are in	



<i>parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>
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It comes as no surprise that from 1904, political agitation and propaganda increased significantly in the Russian labour environment. The "Chronicle" records that the most organizations of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party were recorded in 1904 – 82 organizations that were connected with workers in the pre-revolutionary period, including political circles that maintained the rights of political groups. All of those were noticed in 48 cities, including 25 provincial ones. This makes about 14.4 % of the total number of party and other political organizations noted in this complex of sources.

This is the reason that the factors involved in strike activity changed, and that this fact cannot be examined with the help of the materials presented in the collection of the reports of factory inspectorate. Since the activities of political organizations and parties were mostly illegal, it is very difficult (if not impossible) to determine their impact on either the number of labour conflicts, or on the number of participants.

#### 5.4.6. Years 1900-1904

The last type of regression model was built based on the materials of the Factory Inspectorate that includes all five years of the defined time period and again two dependant variables – “strikers”, representing the level of participation of workers in labour conflicts, and “strikes” portraying the number of labour conflicts occurring in the country.

**Table 5.4.12. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts for years 1900-1904 based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate.**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	0.055 (0.078)
Worker complaints	<b>0.186** (0.094)</b>
Accidents	-0.073 (0.092)
Management violations	0.003 (0.076)
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.030 (0.208)
Workers in Textile	<b>-0.651*** (0.202)</b>
Workers in Metal Smelting	-0.125 (0.090)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	0.044 (0.078)
Fined	<b>0.642*** (0.206)</b>
Male	0.361 (0.297)
1900	-0.036 (0.062)
1901	-0.033 (0.063)
1902	-0.043 (0.062)
1903	<b>0.152** (0.061)</b>
N observations	305
R	0.59
R2	0.35
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i>	

<p><i>**significant at 5% (<math>P&lt;0.05</math>)</i></p> <p><i>***significant at 1% (<math>p&lt;0.01</math>)</i></p>	
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As can be seen from the table with the results of the regression analysis presented above, the coefficient of determination  $R^2$  in the regression model equals 0.35, which is considered statistically relevant and which means that the independent variables taken determine one-third of the changes in the dependant variable. The p-level of extracted independent variables is less than 0.05, which makes all of them statistically relevant. Strikingly, there is no gender factor. What could this mean? As was observed through the regression analysis for each studied year, the leadership in the level of participation of workers in the labour movement changed from year to year. Thus, it is difficult to say that male workers were always the ones better organized. In the long run they really were, due to high levels of literacy and professional skills, but their leadership was sometimes not only challenged by female workers but even won by those.

As can be seen, factors responsible for complaints from workers about management had a significant positive impact on the number of participants in labour conflicts for the time period 1900-1904. People seem to complain when they have a certain (commonly high) level of discontent. Obviously, discontent triggers strike activity and the share of workers involved in strikes.

As for the factor representing the share of workers who were fined at the enterprises, this had a positive impact for the year 1900 and negative one for the year 1902 on the level of participants in strikes in pre-revolutionary Russia. It is hardly surprising that workers were spurred on by the fines that the administration placed on them, not infrequently due to poor maintenance of labour machines or due to double shifts and the lack of proper breaks between them.

The next significant independent variable is the share of workers employed in the manufacture of fibrous materials industry that had a negative impact on the dependant variable representing the participants in labour conflicts. During the five years before the First Russian Revolution, workers in this branch of Russian industry did not strike more than workers in other sectors of the industry. It is important to stress here that textile workers were still very active, but within these particular five years the lead position was taken by workers in the metalworking and colliery mining and ore industries. Unsurprisingly, the workers in the largest and most-developed branch of industry, with the highest level of literacy and organizational skills, were active participants in the labour movement. Further, it was predominantly the workers in the metalworking industry who were the most responsive to the political agitation of growing political organizations and parties. As to the workers employed in the colliery mining and re industries, their high level of participation peaked during 1903, in a massive general strike in the south of the Russian Empire.

This brings us to the last significant independent variable in the regression – year 1903. This year was exceptional in both the level of participation of workers in strike activity, as well as in the number of strikes. To explain this timing, we need to refer to case studies. On July 1, 1903 strikes in Baku and Odessa began. Between July - August, the strike movement had captured all the industrial centres of the Caucasus and Ukraine: Tiflis, Batumi, Kiev, Nikolaev and so on. Strikes paralyzed the industrial activity of all southern areas, and became general. More than 200 thousand people of different nationalities took part in it. The reason for the strike was the economic crisis, which had painfully struck, first, the coal and oil-extracting industries, and also the metal smelting industry. The position of workers in the enterprises of these branches considerably worsened, and led to massive strikes. The movement was organized by the RSDRP committees. They sent out leaflets, and together with the representatives of the workers, they developed lists of demands of an economic and political character. However, sometimes strikes began spontaneously — in a number of places there was no influence of social democratic propaganda and agitation. The general strike showed

that the labour movement had risen to a new, higher step and that the labour movement and struggle of the proletariat had outgrown a local framework, having captured the large industrial region of the country.

**Table 5.4.13. Dependant variable representing the number of strikes for the years 1900-1904, based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate.**

<i>Independent variables</i>	
Complaints about workers	-0.009 (0.080)
Worker complaints	<b>-0.206** (0.095)</b>
Accidents	-0.147 (0.093)
Management violations	<b>0.333*** (0.077)</b>
Workers in Metalworking Industry	-0.348 (0.212)
Workers in Textile	-0.215 (0.205)
Workers in Metal Smelting	-0.081 (0.092)
Workers in Ore and Colliery Mining	-0.076 (0.080)
Fined	-0.028 (0.210)
Male	<b>1.009*** (0.302)</b>
1900	-0.018 (0.064)
1901	-0.018 (0.064)
1902	-0.023 (0.063)
1903	<b>0.205*** (0.063)</b>
N observations	305
R	0.57
R2	0.33
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>	

In the results of the regression analysis presented above for the dependant variable “strikes”, the coefficient of determination R2 in the regression model equals

33% which is considered statistically relevant, and which means that the independent variables presented in the regression model determine one-third of the changes in the dependant variable. The p-level of significant independent variables is less than 0.05, which makes all of them statistically relevant. As to the interpretation of the results, the variable, “number of male workers” is of strong interest. The massive general strike in summer 1903, with around two thousand workers in the south of Russia participating, explains the positive impact of the share of male workers on the number of labour conflicts, as the great majority of workers involved in the strike were male. This, then, had a high positive impact on the number of strikes in the Russian Empire from 1900 to 1904. It is common to assume that male workers were much more active in the strike movement than female workers, and this assumption is typically attributed to social and economic factors.

If before the complaints made by workers about the management or administration had a positive impact on the dependant variable, here we see that its role is taken by the share of workers who made complaints in a negative way. This does not contradict the results of the former model, since two variables, “strikes” and “strikers,” do not usually correlate with one another and are dependent on different factors.

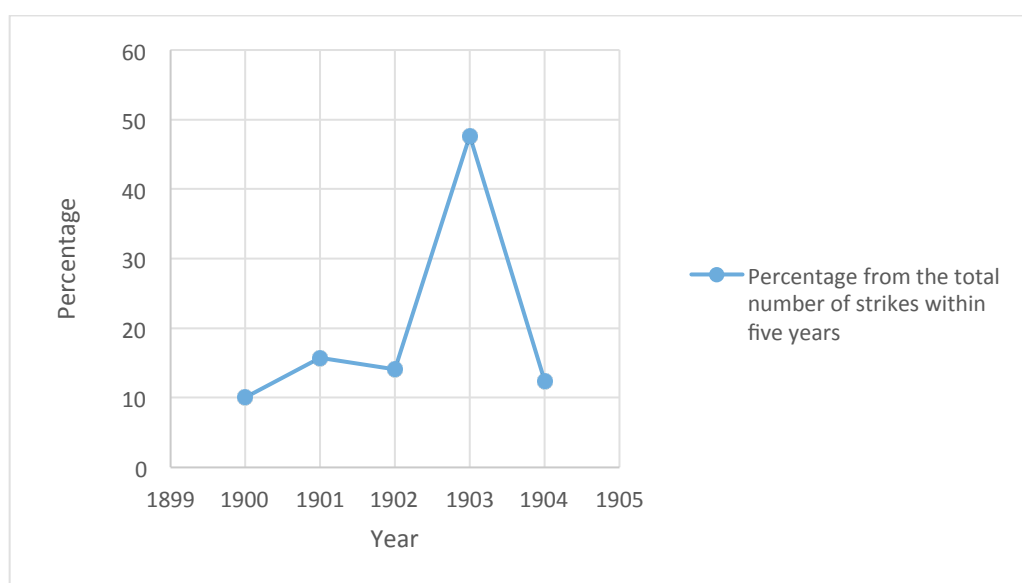
The very high positive impact of the variable representing the number of violations incurred by the management can be readily explained: management violations triggered discontent and tension among workers, who then sought justice and sometimes even revenge. Multiple cases found in the sources to substantiate this notion. One such case is the Grodno strike of January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1895<sup>202</sup>: workers organized a general strike with around 10 thousand participants from neighbouring enterprises. The trigger was a host of management violations and worker discrimination.

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<sup>202</sup> *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. I-IX: Vyp. I “1895 god”, Moscow, 1992, p. 84.*

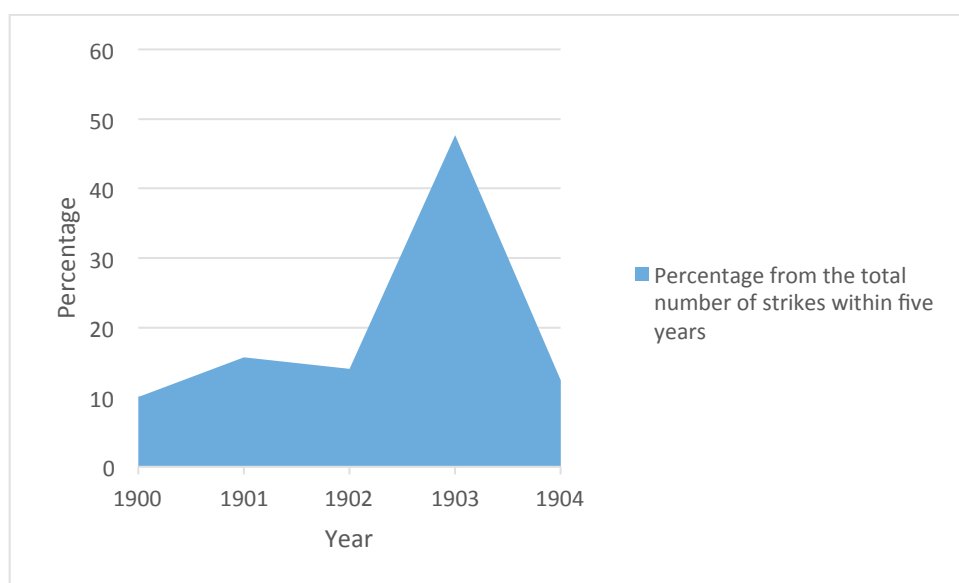
In 1903, strike activity in the country reached its peak, and we observe this fact in the table illustrating the results of the regression analysis for both cases; for level of participation (for the dependant variable “strikers”) and the intensity of labour movement (for the dependant variable “strikes”). In order to illustrate this, the table below depicts the yearly dynamics of the number of strikes in the Russian Empire based on the materials of the Factory Inspectorate.

Graph 5.4.14. Yearly dynamic of the number of strikes in the Russian Empire, based on the materials of the Collection of the Factory Inspectorate.



Very similar results can be observed for the yearly dynamics of the number of participants in strike activity based on the materials of the Factory Inspectorate:

Graph 5.4.15. Yearly dynamics of the number of participants in labour conflicts in the Russian Empire, based on the materials of the "Collection."



It would be interesting to test if the materials of the new and more advanced source used in the current research, that is, the "Chronicle," will yield the same picture.

To better capture the results of the regression analysis, it was decided to present all significant variables of regression models throughout the studied years in one table for each dependant variable.



**Table 5.4.16. Dependant variable representing the number of participants in labour conflicts, based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of the Factory Inspectorate.**

Variables with significant impact on the dependant variable ( $\beta$ coefficient)	Year					
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1900-1904
Share of complaints about workers						
Share of workers who made complaints	0.951*** (0.197)			0.748*** (0.224)		0.186** (0.094)
Share of occurred accidents	0.614*** (0.188)	0.589*** (0.182)			0.855** (0.386)	
Share of registered violations of management		- 0.523***		0.281 ** (0.122)		
Share of workers occupied in Metalworking Industry					- 0.989*** (0.391)	
Share of workers occupied in Manufacture of Fibrous Materials		- 0.789*** (0.276)				- 0.651*** (0.202)
Share of workers occupied in Metal Smelting	0.293** (0.127)		-0.234* (0.131)			
Share of workers occupied in Ore and Colliery Mining		- 0.498*** (0.109)				
Share of workers who were fined	0.604* (0.345)		- 1.010*** (0.336)			0.642*** (0.206)
Share of male workers	-1.996*** (0.473)	1.741*** (0.492)	1.100** (0.493)			
Share of female workers						
1903						0.152** (0.061)
<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>						

**Table 5.4.17. Dependant variable representing the number of labour conflicts, based on the materials of the Collection of the Reports of the Factory Inspectorate.**

Variables with significant impact on the dependant variable ( $\beta$ coefficient)	Year					
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1900-1904
Share of complaints about workers	0.380** (0.176)			0.228* (0.128)		
Share of workers who made complaints				0.415* (0.221)		-0.206** (0.095)
Share of accidents			-0.554** (0.273)	-0.586** (0.232)	0.876** (0.410)	
Share of registered management violations			0.364* (0.190)	0.852*** (0.121)		0.333*** (0.077)
Share of workers occupied in Metalworking Industry					- 1.329**	
Share of workers occupied in Manufacture of Fibrous Materials	-0.981** (0.461)					
Share of workers occupied in Metal Smelting			-0.337* (0.184)			
Share of workers occupied in Ore and Colliery Mining						
Share of workers who were fined						
Share of male workers			1.252* (0.692)			1.009*** (0.302)
Share of female workers	1.517** (0.709)	0.350** (0.171)				
1903						0.205*** (0.063)

*Standard errors are in parentheses.*

*\* significant at 10% ( $p < 0.1$ )*

*\*\*significant at 5% ( $P < 0.05$ )*

*\*\*\*significant at 1% ( $p < 0.01$ )*

The regression analysis shows the main tendency in strike activity within five years before the Revolution of 1905. The coefficient of determination  $R^2$  changes from year to year within the limits of 0.25 to 0.85, the average being  $R^2=0.7$ , which

means that the models are statistically relevant. It cannot be stated that the main factors that influenced the number of the participants in the conflicts to a large extent overlap with those that have a strong influence on the number of strikes as well. Therefore, it is possible to say that although a certain group of factors influenced both variables, no direct and strong correlation between the models determined the number of strikes and level of participation in strike activity within the given years in the Russian Empire. Another important finding is there is no temporal consistency— the causes of strikes changed from year to year.

As was confirmed by cluster analysis in the previous chapter, the hypothesis regarding gender characteristics of striking movement in the Russian Empire before the First Revolution was refuted. According to the materials of the Factory Inspectorate, male workers did not strike more than female workers. In some years, the influence of female workers on the intensity and frequency of strikes was greater than that of male workers. Male workers led in organizational skills, as they had a higher level of participation in striking activity. This can be explained in several ways. First, the literacy level among male workers was considerably higher than that among female workers, which might have made them more responsive to political agitation and propaganda. Then too, as mentioned above, the percentage of skilled workers among men was higher than among women. As skilled workers were much more highly valued in any enterprise, as it was difficult to replace them, they might not have feared for their jobs. In addition, the branches of industry with a high concentration of men (metal smelting, metalworking, mining) had the highest rate of accidents; these tended to trigger strikes. Finally, the percentage of male workers was much higher than female workers, which can be seen from the table presented in Chapter III of the current dissertation<sup>203</sup>.

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<sup>203</sup> See Chapter III, p. 148.

Among other factors to mention is the share of workers about whom complaints were made, and the share of conflicts with a record of accidents, which were very strong positive variables as well.

The exception here is the year 1904, when neither the number of strikes, nor the level of participation of workers in strikes was independent of any of the chosen variables of the model except the positive influence by the share of accidents on the dependant variable. This can be explained by the common knowledge of the great influence at that time of political propaganda and agitation, which, as expected, played a major role in shaping the strike dynamics of this year. As all labour conflicts, as well all sorts of trade unions and political organizations were illegal in Russia at that time, it is almost impossible to measure the impact of political propaganda and include it in the model. The results provide a picture of the power of political agitation and political mobilization in 1904, on the very eve of the First Russian Revolution.

#### 5.4.7. Conclusions

To conclude, our statistical analysis of materials in the "Collection" yielded quite similar findings to the ones that emerged from our cluster analysis of materials presented in the "Chronicle."

It was confirmed that the first hypothesis regarding the leading position of Moscow and St. Petersburg can be applied to the pre-revolutionary Russian labour movement. Factors such as a high level of labour concentration in these two cities, as well as their industrial development, and finally the fact that the workers in Moscow and Saint Petersburg were quite urbanized and were considered to be "the oldest" among the newly developing working class of society, made these two cities the leaders in strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia. No wonder that the First Russian Revolution started in Petersburg...

The second hypothesis pertaining to strike activity in the metal industry was confirmed for pre-revolutionary Russia as well. It is possible that the positive impact of the variable "share of workers in the metal industry" can be explained by the relatively high rates of literacy enjoyed by metalworkers; that is, education may have rendered them more receptive to political propaganda and agitation. Second, they were much more experienced and skilled, and thus may have been less afraid of losing their jobs. Indeed, management tends to value difficult-to-replace *masters of production*<sup>204</sup>. By way of contrast, the metal smelting industry, whose workers were relatively unskilled and unschooled, had a negative impact on labour movement variables throughout the studied years. It is clear that male workers were in the lead in terms of organizational skills and level of participation in striking activity - again,

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<sup>204</sup> Term common in Russia for the description of skilled, experienced and educated workers who contributed to the production process.

perhaps due to their overall literacy and work experience. Nevertheless, intensity and frequency of labour conflicts tended to be more associated with female workers.

Thus, the hypotheses that the most-developed industrial regions saw the greatest amount of strike activity among male workers, and that literacy played a major role in shaping strike dynamics at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was confirmed. The current analysis yielded a quite-new view as well, and one that is far from a commonplace in the historiography of the field: while female workers took a secondary position in terms of organizational skills and the ability to form common or even general strikes, these workers were involved in just as many labour conflicts during some years as were their male counterparts, and even outdid them in some periods.

As expected, the political element had a considerable impact on strike activity from 1904 onward.

Critically, the results of the regression models indicate that the structure and quality of labour conflicts varied from year to year. Each year, different factors would influence the intensity of strike activity and participation of workers in these conflicts. This tells us that the mentality of workers was in flux; that their understanding of not only *why* they were going on strike but also their perception of their needs were in transition as well.

## **5.5. Labour conflicts, participants and agitation in the Russian labour movement at the turn of the century (based on the materials of the “Chronicle”)**

### *5.5.1. Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is the verification of the hypothesis defined earlier. Our primary interest is on two main indicators of strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia: the number of labour conflicts, and the number of participants in the labour struggle. These two elements disclose the intensity of labour activity and the level of engagement of workers in it. A third aspect that will be discussed here is the agitation element. Since one of the most vibrant discussions in today’s literature in the field of labour history is related to the impact and influence of political organizations and parties through agitation on the labour movement, it would be interesting to examine this issue in light of the materials presented in the new source, the “Chronicle”.

Thus, in the current chapter the main hypothesis will be verified. It was decided to use regression analysis as a statistical method due to its capacity to reveal the interrelations among and impact of various variables on the studied one.

The regression models were built in order to determine the factors that most influenced strike activity in the provinces, and to determine the interrelations of the factors. Three models were built for the decade before the First Russian Revolution; that is, from 1895 to 1905. The first model takes the number of strikers as the dependent variable, while the second one takes the number of strikes as the dependent variable. These are similar to the regression models that were built for the statistical analysis of the data in the "Collection." In both models, the analysed cases are the provinces, while the independent variables were chosen according to their relevance. In order to avoid the mistake of choosing variables with a high correlation coefficient,

the correlation matrix was built for each pair of variables that might have had a strong correlation. After the determination of the independent variables, the following variables were chosen for the models:

1. Share of strikes with a call for a factory inspector in % ,
2. Share of strikes with a call for the involvement of the army or police in % ,
3. Share of agitation element in strikes for province,
4. Share of strikes with economic reasons in % ,
5. Share of strikes with economic demands in % ,
6. Share of strikes with political reasons in % ,
7. Share of strikes with political demands in % ,
8. Share of strikes with social reasons in % ,
9. Share of strikes with social demands in % ,
10. Share of strikes with a positive outcome in % ,
11. Share of strikes in the metal industry in % ,
12. Share of strikes in the textile industry in % ,
13. Share of strikes in the manufacturing industry in % ,
14. Share of strikes in the mining industry in %.

The variables for the regression model were chosen with the intention to include in the model only statistically significant variables, and taking into account the multicollinearity of the factors within the model.

The regression analysis revealed the main tendencies in strike activity one decade before the Revolution of 1905.

The results of the regression based on this set of data in general confirms what was achieved by means of the regression analysis of the materials presented in the



"Collection" although since the data presented in the "Chronicle" covers a greater geographic area and more time, it provides a more accurate picture of strike activity in Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1905.

### 5.5.2. What factors influenced the frequency of labour conflicts?

Doubtless, the main indicator of the level and intensity of strike activity is the number of labour conflicts that actually took place. Identifying the critical elements and parameters that influenced the number of labour conflicts would lead us to the heart of the phenomenon.

**Table 5.5.1. Regression based on the materials of the "Chronicle" with the dependant variable "number of labour conflicts":**

<b>Independent variables</b>	
Call for Factory Inspector	-0.013 (0.009)
Involvement of army or police	<b>-0.068*** (0.025)</b>
Agitation	<b>0.204*** (0.032)</b>
Economic reasons	<b>-0.082*** (0.021)</b>
Economic demands	<b>0.321*** (0.052)</b>
Political reasons	<b>0.067*** (0.023)</b>
Political demands	<b>-0.229*** (0.018)</b>
Social reasons	<b>0.097*** (0.033)</b>
Social demands	<b>0.163*** (0.030)</b>
Positive outcome	<b>0.198*** (0.025)</b>
Metal industry	<b>0.098*** (0.018)</b>

Textile industry	<b>0.217***</b> <b>(0.023)</b>
Manufacturing industry	<b>0.099***</b> <b>(0.027)</b>
Mining industry	<b>0.182***</b> <b>(0.013)</b>
N observations	81
R	0.99
R2	0.99

*Standard errors are in parentheses.*

*\* significant at 10% ( $p < 0.1$ )*

*\*\*significant at 5% ( $P < 0.05$ )*

*\*\*\*significant at 1% ( $p < 0.01$ )*

As can be seen from the table with the results of the performed regression analysis presented above, the coefficient of determination R2 in the regression model equals 0.99, which is very high. This means that the chosen independent variables completely determine the changes in dependant variable. It is obvious that the strikes were predominantly economic in nature. While the factor “share of strikes with economic reasons” has a negative impact on the number of labour conflicts, the demands of workers remain economically and socially focused, whereas the political element has a negative impact on the dependant variable.

The strongest Beta coefficient has the variable representing the number of strikes with economic demands. Thus, it is possible to state that the main factor triggering strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia was the workers' concern for their economic well-being. This is not a surprise, since a glance at micro-history, tells us that the economic conditions of workers were far from ideal.

With regard to the salary wages and real wage of workers, it is important to note that the earnings of workers barely provided for a very minimum of basic living requirements. The inspection of the budgets of workers of Kostroma Province yielded very unfavourable conclusions about workers' nutrition: their food consisted mainly of badly acquired products, and its shortcoming caused a strengthened consumption of tea; consumption of proteins in poor families was at a bare physiological minimum. The diets of all working families had an acute shortage of fats and carbohydrates<sup>205</sup>. Most workers could not afford private living accommodations. Not infrequently, a small room in an apartment housed from 10 to 20 people. These apartments offered neither sleeping benches, nor plank beds; lodgers slept on the floor<sup>206</sup>. Food and habitation constituted the largest items of expenditure, and expenditures for cultural activities on the list<sup>207</sup>.

Between 85% - 98% of teenagers from working families were employed in labour. Naturally, this situation precluded a proper education. In the absence of a system of pensions, only 6 % of the adult working population was a dependent. The old and disabled were not cared for by their families. Factory inspection reports showed that for operational injuries, the treatment term of temporary disability averaged over 20 days per victim. This led to continuous disability – over 70 days<sup>208</sup>.

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<sup>205</sup> See.: Materialy dlia otsenki nedvizhimykh imushchestv v gorodakh i fabrichnykh poselkakh Kostromskoi gubernii. T. 1. Statisticheskie svedeniia o Seredskom fabrichnom raione Nerekogo uezda. Vy`p. Rabochie biudzhety po issledovaniu 1911 g. Kostroma, 1917. S. 23 , 27; Gorbunov I. Polozhenie rabochego klassa v promyshlennosti s ekonomicheskoi tochki zreniia. (1896–1909 gg.). // Vestnik obshchestva tekhnologov. 1909. № 12 . p . 601–613.

<sup>206</sup> Russkoe Bogatstvo. 1900. № 12. p. 47.

<sup>207</sup> Materialy` dlia otsenki nedvizhimykh imushchestv... – T. 1. Vy`p. III. p. 37

<sup>208</sup> RGIA. F.23. Op. 19. D. 417. L. 68–85. (Raspredelenie sluchaev utraty` trudosposobnosti i sluchaev smerti po prodolzhitel`nosti vremeni do okonchatel`nogo

All treatment expenses, injury-related salary reductions, in short, all provisions for the disabled fell on the shoulders of one's family.

In such an environment, workers were preoccupied with issues of economic survival. Political freedom and civil rights took a back seat. Thus, we can easily understand that the variable in the model representing political demands had a negative impact on the number of labour conflicts.

All of this leaves us with a question: why did the masses of workers reconcile themselves to such low earnings, poor-quality food, and bad housing? To answer this, we might look at the two - three decades prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when work at a rural factory was considered by many peasants as a temporary occupation, additional earnings that allowed them to add to the family budget. However, the situation changed. Factory work became a constant, but even then many workers still kept up their bond with the village, paying from factory earnings redemption payments, and at the same time receiving sustenance from village products.

Importantly, the breakage of the worker-village bond that occurred at the turn of the century not only altered workers' perception of life in economic matters, but from the social and political angles as well. Here, the work of E. Kruze is illuminating. Kruze raised the question of whether a worker before the Revolution of 1905 truly could be considered a proletarian. Kruze held that this is not possible, as a worker in a factory enterprise could own at the same time a plot of land, and work this land by means of family members' efforts while he was away<sup>209</sup>.

A few words should be said about the ties of workers to the land and to their villages. This topic was not reflected in our sources. It is difficult to imagine how it

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vy`iasneniia ishoda povrezhdeniia. Svedeniia po Iaroslavskoi` gubernii za 1904 g. Podschyoty` nashi.)

209 Kruze E`. E`. *Polozhenie rabocheho classa v Rossii...*p. 136.

would be possible to trace the connections with their village of two thousand factory workers and to establish this in the sources. In our work, we make reference to the well-studied aspects of these connections. First, during Easter, all major factories of the Russian Empire gave workers a two-week-long break in order to return to their home village for sowing. As the workers always requested this break, and in any case would have left, the management of the enterprises made such arrangements. Second, after the Liberation, in the reforms that cancelled slavery in Russia for the following forty years (right before the Stolipin reform), workers were obliged to repay the government for the piece of land that they had been given. The bulk of these repayments came from the members of the peasant family who had left to work in urban factories and plants. Hence, we know that workers sent to their village some substantial part of their income.

The relationship between workers and the village in rural areas can be considered to be the stabilizing factor that "softened" the blow of poor factory earnings. Nevertheless, as a result of an economic crisis of 1900-1903 the situation deteriorated. During those years, even this apparent stabilizing factor failed. Many small businesses closed, and workers were absorbed by large factories far from their homes. The recent-peasant-turned-hired worker was forced to sunder his bond with the village and move far away, to lodgings that could only aggravate his problems.

These facts might explain the differences in worker reactions to the years of economic crisis<sup>210</sup>. It is likely that workers in regions that enjoyed a village back-up

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<sup>210</sup> For example, if we refer to the third chapter of current research devoted to the comparison of striking activity in three industrial regions of Russian Empire, we see that the level and number of participants in labor conflicts in the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg sharply increased during the years of economic recession. In contrast, the opposite dynamic was observed in Left-Bank Ukraine, where strike activity was close to zero at the time of the crisis. For more details see p. 170-179.

would have experienced the crisis less sharply than did the workers in regions where there was no such safety net.

The second place according to the weight of Beta coefficient in the regression model is taken by the share of workers employed in the textile industry. As was demonstrated earlier in the current dissertation, textile workers were very active in strike activity, although not as responsive to agitation as the more educated and skilled metalworkers.

A few words should be said about the negative impact of the variables in the performed regression model. The first variable is the "share of the labour conflicts with political demands." As was noted at the beginning of the current research, workers at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century still had not formed firm political ambitions, and were mostly worried about the economic challenges that the new life in urban society was bringing them. Indeed, the regression analysis reveals that the factor of political demands had a strong negative influence on the number of labour conflicts. The second independent variable that had a negative weight in the regression model is "the share of labour conflicts with a call for the involvement of army or police". Since strikes were illegal at the studied time in the Russian Empire, when management found themselves unable to cope with workers' discontent, they typically fell back upon the help of the army or police forces. The task of the police and the troops was to stop the workers from acting illegally. The organizers of the strike, and the workers considered to be active participants were not infrequently thereafter fined or even fired by the management. These actions were intended to "teach a lesson" to other guilds of the enterprise, where potential strikers worked. The negative influence of this variable, then, on the number of labour conflicts in the country is quite intuitive.

Another variable with a very high Beta coefficient in the performed regression model is the element of agitation. It is clear that the more educated and literate the workers became, the more receptive they were to political agitation and propaganda. This especially true of labour conflicts, which were sometimes not only instigated by

members of political parties, but managed and organized by them as well. Workers who were generally unhappy with their lives did not know how to state their discontent, or how to manage their actions. This accounts for the increase in the role of agitation from year to year.

Many workers that we think of as belonging to “the mass”, especially to the lower class, had only the vaguest notion of the ultimate aims of the political struggle of the party, even if these workers did participate in strike activity. Most cared exclusively about the satisfaction of particular economic demands. In the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, it was very common to complain bitterly about the fact that the layer of workers in its organizations was extremely thin. The number of members of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (not considering Bund and other national social democratic organizations) was 8400 – 10 thousand people before the Revolution of 1905, according to the most optimistic calculations of scholars<sup>211</sup>. In the largest and most developed of those organizations, during different months within a year usually only a few hundreds members were added.

According to information gleaned from the "Chronicle," at the beginning of 1903 the core group of the Petersburg Committee of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party only numbered 200 members. In others, the number of members of even the large committees was limited to a few tens. At a certain period, the core of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was large – 70 members (in five others, the number never exceeded 20-30 people). The workers were typically a part of “the active force” of the party, and only a few of them were included in the body of the management of the Russian Social Democratic Workers

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<sup>211</sup> Vserossiiskaya perepis' chlenov RKP 1922 g. Vy'p. 4. M., 1923. S. 37; Istoriia Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo soiuza. T. 2. M., 1966. S. 35–36. Kir'ianov Iu. I. Mentalitet rabochikh Rossii na rubezhe 19–20 v // Rabochie i intelligentsiia Rossii v e'pohu reform i revoliutsii. 1861–fevral' 1917 g. SPb. 1997. p. 68.



Party<sup>212</sup>. The information retrieval system that was used by Lozhin for a generalization of the materials on the participants in the Social Democratic movement, allowed him to reveal a variety of sides of the bond between the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party and the Russian labour movement. According to Lozhin, “the workers’ intellectuals” in the pre-revolutionary period played a very active and serious role in the agitation and propaganda activity of social democrats. Among the members who were part of this activity in the years 1894-1898 in political organizations (not considering Bund, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, national parties, and so on), 26% were workers. He writes that from 1883 -1903, two thousand eight hundred workers participated in political activity through the social democratic organizations.<sup>213</sup>

The practical activities of political and labour organizations were reduced to two tasks: first, personal participation of their members in strikes and other forms of worker mass actions and the second, integrally connected with the first; ensuring the impact on workers of political agitation and propaganda. The practical activity of any political party is usually focused on external resources; that is, on the support of a broad swath of society. However, organizational conditions in which will be shown the influence of the macro-determinate of the socio-economic and political character depend on a general knowledge of workers as well as of their social environment. We thus put agitation and propaganda in the first place in groups of Social Democrats

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<sup>212</sup> *Lozhqin V. V. Rol' rabochikh v sozdanii RSDRP //Voprosy` istorii. 1983. № 7. p. 64–80. By estimates of the author the number of the workers participating in work in all social democratic organizations made: in 1895 of-58 people, in 1896 – 96; in 1897 – 103; in 1898 – 117; in 1899 – 108; in 1900 – 140; in 1901 – 213; in 1902-328; in 1903 – 489; in 1904 – svekdeniye aren't present. (Repetitions of surnames of the same workers in work of the organizations in different years aren't excluded).*

<sup>213</sup> *Lozhkin. Kogorta slavy`kh. M. 1986. p. 4159.* Let's notice that V. V. Lozhkin, using long-term work of historians of the 20th led by V.I.Nevskim, in the IRS included only 35 % from total number of social democrats of Russia.

(that is presented in the "Chronicle") the political propaganda connected first of all with the distribution of illegal literature<sup>214</sup> (i.e., leaflets).

The publication and distribution of leaflets represents a certain phase of the development of political organizations; that is, the acquisition of social capital. This activity encouraged the labour movement, promoted the transition to mass political struggle, to the change of forms of protests: from strikes at one enterprise towards collective strikes and general strikes, from descents and mayovkas – to popular meetings, demonstrations of a political character. The appeal to freedom was the main slogan in the distributed leaflets. Each individual had his own understanding of the slogan, but in the country of the eternally un-free, the appeal to freedom reflected a revolutionary spirit in the general atmosphere of society.

We may conclude that during the pre-revolutionary period in Russia, labour-oriented political parties and others connected with workers harnessed towards the direct construction of a party system the free-floating social energy that was bursting forth. The materials of the "Chronicle" enable us to envision the development of the labour movement not only from different angles, but also to research the subject using different scales. Macro-level research still leaves us with many questions regarding the participation of parties in preparing Russian workers for a civil society. However, one thing is indisputable: the political parties in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by networking within the workers' environment, detonated labour conflicts, the processes of the protest movement giving to both of them a certain orientation and sharpness. It is hardly possible to claim that the proletariat had realized itself as a class already when its labour party was created. But the activity of the labour parties and organizations in the workers' environment made a considerable mark on the revolutionary process in Russia.

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<sup>214</sup> According to the materials of "Chronicles", more than 100 villages - of the organizations in 1895-1904 had libraries of illegal party literature.

5.5.3. *What factors influenced the number of participants in strike activity?*

Another important factor to be analysed is the number of the participants in labour movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. The level of strikers characterizes the engagement of workers in the labour struggle and their interest in the movement in general.

**Table 5.5.2. Regression based on the materials of the Chronicle with the dependant variable “number of strikers”:**

<b>Independent variables</b>	
Call for Factory Inspector	<b>0.114*** (0.026)</b>
Involvement of army or police	<b>0.426*** (0.070)</b>
Agitation	0.066 (0.090)
Economic reasons	0.045 (0.061)
Economic demands	0.293 (0.148)
Political reasons	0.066 (0.066)
Political demands	<b>0.274*** (0.051)</b>
Social reasons	0.074 (0.093)
Social demands	0.168 (0.084)
Positive outcome	<b>-0.399*** (0.071)</b>
Metal industry	<b>0.183*** (0.052)</b>
Textile industry	<b>0.172** (0.067)</b>
Manufacturing industry	-0.072 (0.076)
Mining industry	-0.046 (0.036)

N observations	81
R	0.99
R2	0.98

*Standard errors are in parentheses.*

*\* significant at 10% ( $p < 0.1$ )*

*\*\*significant at 5% ( $P < 0.05$ )*

*\*\*\*significant at 1% ( $p < 0.01$ )*

The results of the regression model for the dependant variable “number of strikers” show the factors that influenced the number of participants in labour conflicts a decade before the First Russian Revolution. In the second model, R2 equals 0.98, which is also an excellent result; this means that the model is statistically relevant and that the dependant variable is explained to a large extent by the independent one.

Importantly, two variables that were theoretically interrelated actually were shaped by different elements. It is possible to extract only one factor that positively influenced the number of participants in labour conflicts while at the same time had a strong positive impact on the number of strikes. This factor is the share of labour conflicts in the textile industry. Despite the image of metalworkers as the ones who triggered, organized and supported labour conflicts in the Russian Empire at the turn of the century, the true leaders of the pack, not only in intensity of strike activity, but also in number of participants, were the textile workers. It is a truism in Soviet historiography that metalworkers led the strike activity in pre-Revolutionary Russia. The textile industry accommodated 30% of the labour force, as against 17% of

workers in the metalworking industry, and according to the results of the statistical analysis performed in current thesis, during certain years, textile workers ranked highest in strike intensity as well as number of participants in the labour movement. This finding runs counter to the classic paradigm established in Soviet historiography. Since Lenin stressed that “in Russia, as well as in any other capitalist country, metal workers were always at the front of labour movement”<sup>215</sup>.

Some case study examples might be useful to trace the main tendencies emerged from the regression model. If we look at the strike that broke out in January 1897 in Serpuhov, Moscow Province<sup>216</sup>, it becomes clear why the textile worker can be considered as a kind of proletariat representative who scored in many aspects of strike activity in pre-Revolutionary, and was highly engaged in labour movement activity. At precisely noon on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January, as many as 2260 (of 4700) cotton mill textile workers from Konshin went on strike in response to the institution by management of an 18-hour work shift. This decision, which was difficult and dangerous for workers, though profitable for factory owners, was imposed precipitously on the workers. The striking workers requested: an increase in salary; an increase in wage rates for various kinds of fabric materials; the establishment of a 6 pm end-of-workday if a holiday falls on that day; proper accounting practices regarding labour; the dismissal of three headmasters for bribery and rudeness; an improvement in the quality of food served in the factory shop and to end robbery at the shop; an enlargement of the sleeping space in barracks; and a reduction in the fining system. Notably, the owner of the enterprise agreed to meet with a delegation of workers and was ready to make some immediate improvements. However, the workers were not satisfied with the compromise offered and continued the strike. The

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<sup>215</sup> Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij*, tom 30, p. 309.

<sup>216</sup> *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Hronika. Vyp. III: "1897 god"*. (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005, P. 41.

following day, the delegation was arrested. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, the comrades of the arrested workers insisted that the delegation be set free; when the demand was rejected, a revolt began. A group of workers smashed factory windows as well as those in the apartment of the manager and chief masters, and the workers battered factory shops and disrupted work in the Kashatanovih factory, where the owner bribed the protesters to leave the premises. These actions received in an immediate answer from the administration of the Konshin factory: the factory inspector arrived and the governor of Moscow Province was called, in addition to the police force, 170 Kazaks and 300 soldiers. Workers' bones were broken, women and children were beaten, and Kazaks cut off the ears of demonstrators. All told, around one hundred workers were wounded. The workers who were present during the shift when the strike started were fired. According to the police report, 120 workers were arrested and 40 workers were taken to court (one of whom was jailed for three weeks; eight of whom were incarcerated for two months; seven of whom were incarcerated for three months, and three of whom were jailed for the whole year). The strike continued for six days and ended in utter failure.

At the same time, workers in the metal industry were the absolute leaders in the organization of strike activity and the ability to rise for a common or even general strike. The table with the results of the second regression model demonstrates this clearly. As can be seen, the factor portraying the number of workers from the metal industry has the highest impact on dependant variables after "the involvement of army or police". This means that of all workers, metal workers were most able to organize labour movement activity. Further, this was the group of workers most responsive to political agitation.

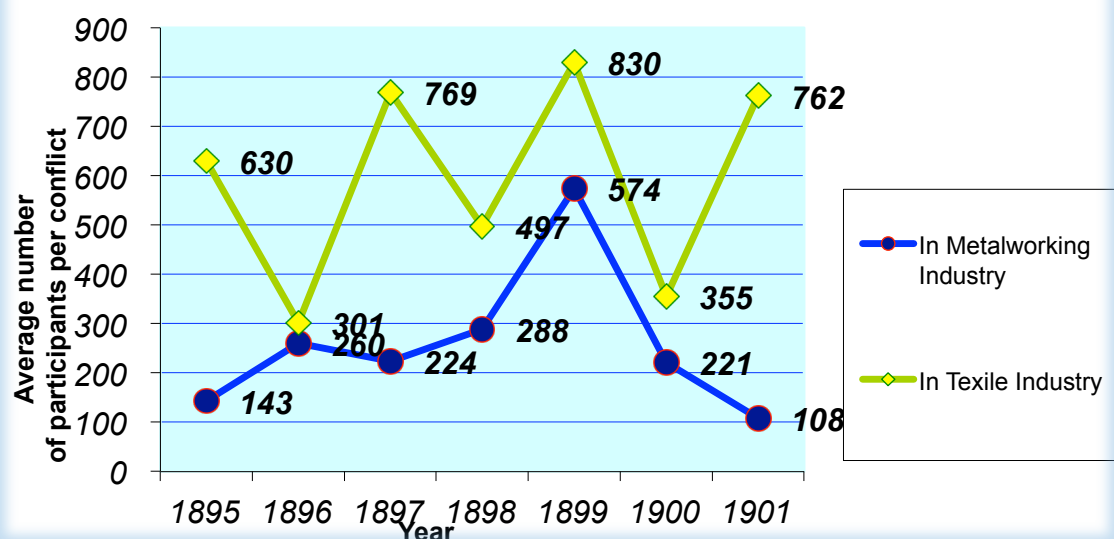
The other factor which is present in both regression models is "political demands". Although it appears in both tables, and in both cases shows relevant statistical impact on the dependant variable, its impact is in the first case negative and in the second case positive. Basically, this means that strikes in which workers made

political demands had a relatively high number of participants - though were occurred less frequently - than other types of strikes. Since political organizations and parties put a lot of effort into influencing the labour movement and were very involved in strike activity, it comes as no surprise that strikes that were organized with the help of agitation and propaganda had political demands, among others.

The conclusion of the interpretation will be as follows: the frequency of the labour conflicts in Russia within a decade before the Revolution of 1905 and the intensity of those conflicts appear to be two non-correlated factors of the labour movement, the first factor represents quantity of labour conflicts while the second factor represents its quality (ability and will of workers to organize and strike together for better results). As was assumed during the first stage of the research, economical component was the trigger for striking activity as well it was the main concern of workers who were striking. Therefore this factor had a strong impact not only on the factor representing how often strikes have been occurring but as well on the factor showing how many participants have been involved.

As was shown already in our cluster analysis of the data in the "Chronicle," the hypothesis that metalworkers were the leaders in strike activity in the Russian Empire that was confirmed in the current statistical analysis should be emended, since as was shown before, although strike activity in the metal industry had the largest percentage of participants, workers employed in the metal industry did not strike as often as did workers employed in the textile industry. It appears that not only did textile workers strike much more often than metal workers, but that labour conflicts in the textile industry were almost as intense as those in the metal industry. A good illustration for that will be a graph with descriptive statistics presented below.

**Graph 5.5.3. Average number of participants per labour conflict in Metal and Textile industries of Russian Empire from 1895 to 1901. Data based on the materials of the “Collection”.**



It appears that textile workers were contributing to the labour struggle as much (if not more) than metal workers during the decade before the Revolution. This statement contradicts a common and dominant in Soviet historiography perception. As was said by Vladimir Lenin: “And here we observe an instructive fact: by 1905 every one hundred of Russian workers have given 160 strikers. Whereas every one hundred of metal workers gave 320 of strikers for the same year! According to calculations every factory worker in Russia in 1905 was losing due to strike activity in average 10 rubbles, - around 25 franks by pre-war currency course, - so to say, was contributing these money to the labour struggle. If we take solely metal workers, we would get an amount three times higher! In front were the best elements of labour



class, leading on the hesitant and sleeping ones, encouraging the weak ones”<sup>217</sup>. The proclamation of Lenin that was widely repeated and quoted decades after his death seems to be false for the period of workers’ strike activity before 1905.

A further point of interest is that according to the results of the regression model, regarding the dependant variable “number of strikers”, it is possible to state that the greater the number of participants in a labour conflict, the less likely it was that the conflict would come to a successful end. We shall now briefly discuss the use of the term “success” in this text. Although perhaps more accurate term would be “immediate success” or “immediate outcome,” this term was chosen in light of the fact that it is not possible to follow up the long-term consequences of each of the 7033 strikes that took place in the territory of the Russian Empire within 1895-1905. Information pertaining to the outcome of each strike was documented and presented in the source, and thus there is no reason not to consider this information as acceptable for the current research.

Returning to the results of the regression analysis, we see that the results run counter to the common assumption regarding the successiveness of large, general or common strikes. The results of the regression may help here: as can be seen from the table, the factor “Number of strikes with a call for, or the involvement of army or police in % to total” had quite a positive impact on the dependant variable. This tells us about typical approaches taken by management in dealing with large strikes: it was very unlikely for them to agree on terms of workers and to satisfy their demands, as they viewed large strikes as a threat to the enterprise and its property. Hence, management were inclined to bring in the army or police to shut the strike down as quickly as possible. This notion is supported by multiple cases presented in the source. As an example, we may take the strike in Serpukhov on December 14<sup>th</sup> 1897 at the Konshin Fabric Manufacturing Factory. More than two thousand workers participated in the strike, which was triggered by the establishment of a fifteen-hour

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<sup>217</sup> Lenin. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij*. Tom 30, p. 312.

shift schedule (the former was 13.5 hours). The management ignored the demands of the workers, who struck for 6 days. By the end of the sixth day, management called for a factory inspector, the governor of the province, 170 Kazaks and 300 (!) soldiers. The striking workers faced arrest, exile and fines<sup>218</sup>.

The last variable to note is the “share of labour conflicts with a call for a factory inspector,” which has a positive impact on the dependant variable. The explanation here is quite basic: In the majority of general and common strikes, the management of the enterprise sought help from the Factory Inspectorate, which was a governmental body created for this very purpose. Since every day of the strike drained profit from the business, management was interested in concluding the labour conflict as expeditiously as possible. For strikes with a large number of participants, this was not that easy, hence the involvement of factory inspectors.

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<sup>218</sup> Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii. 1895- fevral' 1917 g. Xronika. Vyp. III “1897 god”; (Redaktor: I.M. Pushkareva, sostaviteli: N.A. Ivanova, V.P. Jeltova, S.I. Potolov, S.V. Kalmykov i dr.) M., 1992-2005, p. 47.

#### *5.5.4. What factors influenced agitation in the Russian labour movement?*

A third regression model was built for the purpose of explaining the factor of “Agitation”, for the purpose of verification of the fourth hypothesis. As was shown at the beginning of the chapter, the first set of data – the "Collection," does not record enough information to analyse it.

It is quite difficult to analyse the “Agitation” factor objectively, as all political activity within a decade before the Revolution of 1905 had been illegal (as was the striking itself) and thus a very limited segment of activity in this field was documented. Nevertheless, in the current research all existent data on agitation during or just prior to the labour conflict was considered and entered into the data base. With the help of factor analysis, such variables for the regression model have been used as:

1. Share of labour conflicts in the province in %,
2. Share of participants in labour conflicts in the province in %,
3. Share of strikes with the call for factory inspector in % ,
4. Share of strikes with the call or the involvement of army or police in % ,
5. Share of strikes with economic reasons in % ,
6. Share of strikes with economic demands in % ,
7. Share of strikes with political reasons in % ,
8. Share of strikes with political demands in % ,
9. Share of strikes with social reasons in % ,
10. Share of strikes with social demands in % ,
11. Share of strikes with a positive outcome in % ,
12. Share of strikes in metal industry in % ,
13. Share of strikes in textile industry in % ,
14. Share of strikes in manufacturing industry in % ,
15. Share of strikes in mining industry in %.

The variables for the regression model were chosen based on the intention to include in the model only statistically significant variables, and taking into account the multicollinearity of the factors included within the model.

**Table 5.5.4. Regression based on the "Chronicle," dependant variable "Agitation"**

<b>Independent variables</b>	
Call for Factory Inspector	-0.018 (0.035)
Involvement of army or police	<b>-0.139* (0.077)</b>
Economic reasons	0.018 (0.080)
Economic demands	-0.212 (0.200)
Political reasons	<b>0.563*** (0.055)</b>
Political demands	0.036 (0.064)
Social reasons	<b>0.353*** (0.115)</b>
Social demands	<b>0.270** (0.108)</b>
Positive outcome	<b>0.197** (0.092)</b>
Metal industry	<b>2.061*** (0.065)</b>
Textile industry	<b>-0.204** (0.078)</b>
Manufacturing industry	0.146 (0.100)
Mining industry	<b>-0.118*** (0.042)</b>
N observations	81

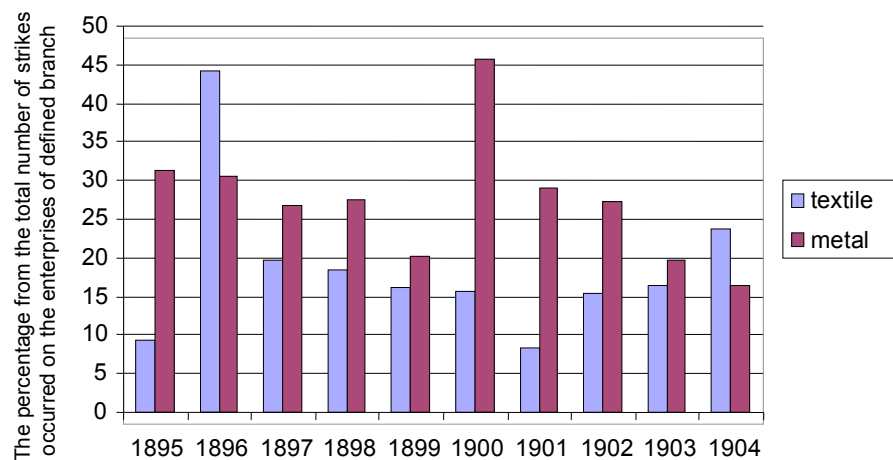
R	0.97
R <sup>2</sup>	0.95

<i>Standard errors are in parentheses.</i> <i>* significant at 10% (<math>p &lt; 0.1</math>)</i> <i>**significant at 5% (<math>P &lt; 0.05</math>)</i> <i>***significant at 1% (<math>p &lt; 0.01</math>)</i>
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The regression model is statistically significant;  $R^2$  is around 95%, which is very high. Five factors had a positive impact, and three, conversely, impacted negatively on the dependant variable, “Agitation”, which represented the share of the agitation element in strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia. The results of the regression analysis are in line with the results achieved by means of the cluster analysis of the data in the "Chronicle," confirming the hypothesis regarding the focus of political organizations and parties in Russia on workers employed in the metal industry due to their relatively high rate of literacy and organizational skills.

Here, it would be interesting to go into depth and illustrate the finding by descriptive statistics. Finally, it is possible to present the graphical representation of the yearly distribution of strikes where the “political component” was recorded. Graph 11 shows the share of strikes in which the distribution of leaflets was recorded for every year, for the textile and metalworking branches of industry. Except for the years 1896 and 1904, this indicator is higher for the enterprises in the metallurgical and metalworking branch. The biggest rupture between branches can be seen for the years 1895, 1900 and 1901 when metalworkers surpass the textile workers 3 – 3.5 times.

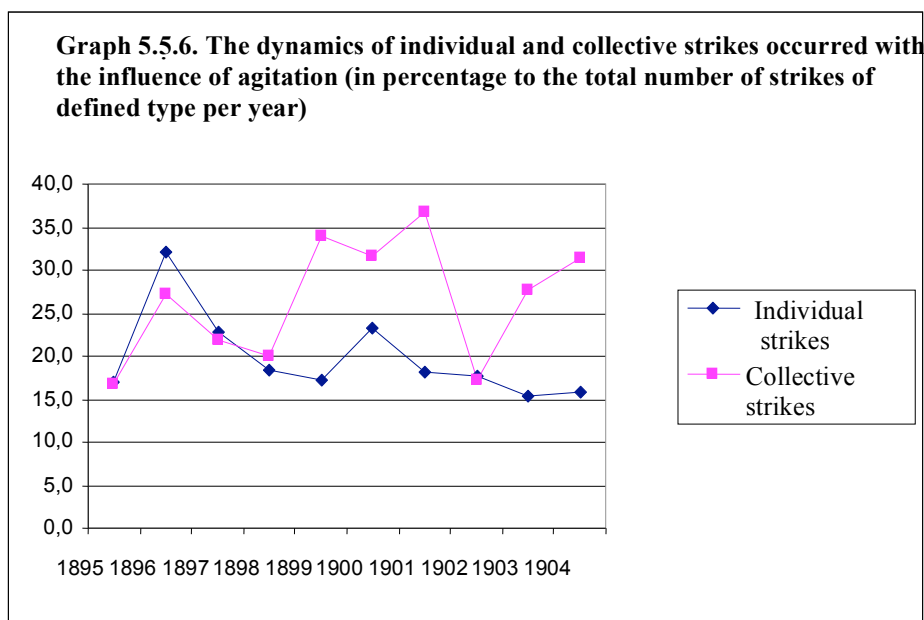
**Graph 5.5.5. The dynamics of strikes occurred with the influence of agitation: comparison of two main branches of industry. 1895-1904.**



In general, the indicators of the presence of the political element in the description of the strikes for the both branches of industry show a fairly significant amplitude of distribution. For metalworkers, the lowest indicator is approximately 17%, which falls out in 1904; the highest is about 46% for 1900. For textile workers, the lowest indicator is approximately 8%, which can be observed in 1901, and the highest – about 44 % - in 1896. The share of strikes with a "propaganda" element in the enterprises of the textile industry fluctuates between 15 – 20 % within 6 years (1897-1900 and 1902-1903); for metalworkers, as shown in Graph 11, the dispersion is stronger.

In Graph 12, the curves show the yearly dynamics for individual and collective strikes wherein the same “political component” in the form of usual "propaganda" was registered. It is interesting that the trend of curves coincide at the period of the initial stage of the labour movement for the years 1895-1898. However, from 1899 they almost always behave discordantly, sometimes moving in opposite directions: if in 1899 and 1901 we see an increase in collective strikes with "propaganda" (1899 – about 34%, 1901 – approximately 37%) for "individual" strikes for these years the curve goes downwards; and then since 1900 the share of "individual" strikes with

propaganda grows, while the curve representing collective strikes begins to fall, reaching its nadir in 1902. It is likely that this fall can be explained by an economic crisis. This confirms the business-cycle theory, but not the economic-hardship theory.



Afterwards, both graphs converge within the limits of approximately 17.1 – 17.5 %. A possible explanation for this is that during the economic crisis, agitation did not generally yield positive results. The members of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, which was created in 1898, were at the time preoccupied with internal problems. Hence, they might well have lost day-to-day communication with workers, though the more radical of the Social Democrats could be seen among organizers of mass protests such as collective strikes, especially the political ones connected with May Day celebrations.

According to the results of the statistical analysis based on the materials of “Chronicle,” strike activity in the Russian Empire during the years of economic crisis significantly decreased, which confirms that the business-cycle working hypothesis is applicable in the studied period in the Russian Empire. Conversely, the economic-hardship theory was not confirmed – workers went on strike much less during this

period of economic recession and crisis, when their working conditions deteriorated and grievances mounted.

Returning to the results of the regression model, we would like to discuss the influence of two variables representing workers' concerns about the social issues of the labour process on their everyday life. Both variables, “share of labour conflicts with a social reason” and “share of labour conflicts with social demands” have a very high beta coefficient, and thus exert a positive impact on the agitation element in strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia. Again, we resort to the economic factor of the labour movement. As was established previously, the workers who were most responsive to the agitation of political organizations and parties were the ones with the highest income, rate of literacy and class consciousness. Thus, these workers represented the upper layer of the labour class, which was really very thin at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. To a large extent financially secure, the upper class began to formulate more ambitious plans concerning their social life. However, the majority of workers still were predominantly preoccupied with an economic struggle.

As expected, the more agitation involved in strike activity, the higher the share of strikes with political demands. Political organizations and parties were especially interested in promoting a political agenda. This is an important finding, confirming a well-known historiographic hypothesis that one of the newly expanding concerns of workers on the eve of the Revolution was their political freedom.



#### *5.5.5. Conclusions*

In terms of the general results of our research on the development of the pre-revolutionary working-class protest movement, it is possible to say that its forms and content was always caused by a parity of spontaneity, roles played by economic conjunctures and the influence on workers of organized parties. Mass worker actions revealed an extensive spectrum of moods and behaviours. Such a wide variety of situations can only be understood by probing the depths of the "young" proletarian movement by means of the close rapport of the interrelations of the indicators, as well as by researching the exploitation of workers. This was confirmed once again through an analysis of labour conflicts differing by social heterogeneity. Workers were rallied by poverty and social inequality, animosity hoarded over generations, and hatred of employers. As a result, the process of understanding the conflicts in the course of industrial relations often lagged behind the actions of workers.

As in the previous chapters of the current research, once again it was shown that although workers in pre-revolutionary Russia were significantly influenced by political agitation and propaganda, still the nature of the labour movement in the country was not political, but economical. The main concern of workers was their economic well-being, especially after the rupture of the worker-village tie at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Although before the Revolution of 1905 Russian workers did not identify themselves as a unified social class with common political ambitions, the level of their class consciousness grew from year to year. This is demonstrated by the fact that such variables as political agitation had a positive impact on strike activity in the country. The materials of the "Chronicle" especially since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reflect the growth of worker class-consciousness. These were the carriers of the

political culture, realizing the purposes and the methods of the progressive Russian Social Democratic Workers Party.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, workers began to perceive themselves as a special group, displaying endurance and discipline. This was ascertained more than once by the representatives of the factory inspection of the authorities and factory administrations. Certainly, the mentality of workers was at that time at a stage of withdrawal from the old understandings, and the formation of new perceptions regarding the world and their place in it. In this process, a considerable role was played by organizations that were seen by the still-small, but rapidly growing layer of class-conscious, advanced, active workers connected with socialists, starting from the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and finishing with other parties.

At the same time, there was a quite-large category of Russian workers who inherited from peasants' uprisings an attitude of wanton destruction "for the sake of the future."

## **Main Conclusion**

The liberal reforms of 1860-1870 played an important role in the modernization of Russia. However these reforms did not create a civil society. The autocratic imperial regime put obstacles in the way of freedom for public organizations and the development of representative institutions. This was especially obvious in regards to the rapid development in second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the working class, which until 1905 was deprived of elementary political rights and freedom to strike, publically meet, or operate professional organizations.

From the mid-eighties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Empire began to industrialize at a rapid pace. This phenomenon encompassed all the main branches of Russian industry, and forever changed the structure of Russian society. Yesterday's peasants became industrial workers, and urbanization was on the move, although workers still held a peasant mentality, with very tight bonds to the village. It is no wonder that starting from the nineties, the massive protest movements of Russian workers had formed already into a mass phenomenon.

The factory legislation of the studied period only partially regulated interrelations between workers and employers. In typical strikes, labour organizations were banned and their participants were pursued in a criminal manner that seemed anachronistic in comparison with the considerable success of workers in Western Europe (as well as in the autonomous part of the Russian empire, the Grand Duchy of Finland). These latter, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in their daily struggle for economic and social rights, had created their own professional organizations and political parties, and were presented in parliaments and organs of local authority. This is the main distinction between the struggle of Russian workers and those in western European countries and the Scandinavian region.

In other words, it was quite difficult for the imperial government to answer the natural aspiration of workers to organize and achieve solidarity. The law of 1903 was a belated and insufficient measure, and certain legal organizations and mutual aid funds did not receive a wide circulation<sup>219</sup>. A very important step on the way to liberalization and the improvement of interrelations between workers and employers was the establishment of the Factory Inspectorate. The role of this political body should not be underestimated. Although the factory inspectors were not capable of preventing labour conflicts, their participation significantly influenced the level of tension during the conflicts, which were thus kept from exploding. Then too, the factory inspectors collected a significant amount of data regarding the labour conflicts, and those data are considered to be fairly reliable, as the inspectors, unlike the representatives of political parties or policemen, had no interest in distorting the facts on the ground.

That the Russian workers who struggled for the improvement of work conditions, as well as for at least returning to former wage levels, were acting illegally and faced fines, dismissal or even arrest colours the entire strike issue. The threat of legal repercussion explains the spread of particularly strikes among the other forms of labour conflicts: workers acted or reacted when their discontent was very high, so any conflict easily took the form of open strikes. Notably, not only workers, but also employers, had no experience with managing labour disagreements in a peaceful and “civil” way; thus, a large percentage of strikes ended with lock-outs, dismissals, mass arrests, dispatches, penalization, and physical punishments of workers and so on. In quite a considerable number of reports of labour conflicts, the workers began by trying to talk things over with the management: they sent a delegation of representatives or a list of requests written by one of the literate workers

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<sup>219</sup> See: Vovchik A. F. *Politika tsarizma i burzhuzii po rabochemu voprosu v predrevoliutsionnyi period*. L'vov, 1964; Laverychev V. *IA. Tsarizm i rabochii vopros v Rossii (1861-1917)*. M., 1972.

of the group. It was the disregard of those steps by employers that often triggered a strike.

The labour movement in Russia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been studied in multiple research projects and surveys. Most of this attention has been focused on the political element of the movement, as well as on the social interrelations between workers ("proletariat") and the management of the enterprises. A handful of studies were based on statistical materials, but mainly the focus was on certain regions or branches of industry. The previous part of the thesis includes a descriptive presentation and analysis of the current literature on the subject. The main source used in the majority of surveys is the "Collection," starting from year 1900. These materials present the main information regarding conflicts between workers and management, and the outcome of their further proceeding according to the inspectorates' protocol; it covers 64 provinces, 6 administrative districts and in general only the main enterprises of the region. The data was gathered by province, which is the unit of the statistical set of data; hence, the data is generalized and aggregated. Materials collected by factory inspectors allow researchers to follow the main tracks of the development of the strike movement, with a focus on the socio-political element of the phenomenon, although due to the particularity of the source it could be done only on a very general level.

The current research is based on the materials of two main sources on the labour movement and labour conflicts in Russia during the decade before the first Russian Revolution. The first set of data is derived, as mentioned above, from the "Collection," while the second set of data is much more complete and covers the materials gathered in 86 funds and 29 archival depositories of the Russian Federation and other institutions besides the Factory Inspectorate such as: the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire, the Department for Defence of Public Security and Order, the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Empire, mainly in the Temporary Chancellery of Criminal Actions and Criminal Department of the First Section of the Criminal Department, Personal funds of Pleve, Milukov, Shturmer and

Guchkov in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central Historical Archive of Moscow, the documents of the Senate, the State Council, the State Parliament and the Committee of Ministers in the State Archive of Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg and the documents of the Department of Trade and Industry, the Mining Department and the Ministry of Finance.

Thus, the second set of data is not only much more detailed, since the unit is the labour conflict, but as well use much more objective in comparison with the materials of the Factory Inspectorate, since the second set was collected by multiple political institutions.

The analysed material show that descriptions of workers such as "backward", "advanced" and "well-agitated" are not always justified. It was quite natural that in 1905, in the midst of the deepening of the country's revolutionary process, a politicization of the working-class movement took place. However, simultaneously there was also a radicalization of this politicization that led not only to a stirring up of the strike struggle and a climate of mass demonstrations, but also to the mass monarchic movement. In the course of the strikes, workers achieved quite concrete, well-planned and well-formulated goals. Initially, political slogans did not receive much attention from workers. After a certain point, the slogans were added to lists of worker demands, but whether or not they were "edited" by participants of demonstrations or were mentioned on a pro forma basis is not known. Many demonstrations reflected a coordination of the goals of party leaders with the interests of workers. This fact may guide future research to a comparative analysis of worker demands as stated in the course of the conflicts, with those slogans and demands that were suggested to them by agitators or were simply recorded in the party leaflets. Another important point is that workers showed that they were able to independently organize collective strikes, sometimes with the participation of dozens of separate enterprises. Commonly, workers carefully monitored outside speakers, and put forward many talented organizers from their environment. With all the complexity of propaganda work, the active, persevering activity of political propagandists should be

noted. Besides prosecution from the authorities, they risked not only rejection by workers' audiences, but in some cases their very lives.

The fact that no quantitative or statistical research in the field has ever been carried out for labour conflicts in pre-revolutionary Russia, and no statistical models which could explain the development of the process have been ever built, contributes to the significance of this research. Further, and crucially, statistical analysis, the main research tool, allowed us to establish a causal relationship between the main characteristics of the process, and hence to accomplish the main goal of the research. Finally, the use of a new and alternative historical source lends a great deal of value to this research. All previous research assumptions and findings on labour conflicts in pre-revolutionary Russia were solely based on data presented in the Collection of the Reports of Factory Inspectorate. The source for the statistical analysis in the current thesis covers twice as many cases than the former one, and as it represents data on labour conflicts from different political bodies, it can be considered relatively objective.

As to the summary of results obtained by means of a statistical analysis of two sources – the "Collection," and the main source of current research work the "Chronicle", we conclude that the statistical analysis of the materials collected in the "Chronicle" yielded a much more interesting and detailed perspective on strike activity in the Russian Empire in the decade before the Russian Revolution of 1905. This was due to the fact that more territorial units were covered by the data, as well as that the time series included five more years. The two sources for the current research work – the "Chronicle" and the "Collection" do not stand in opposition to one another. It would be more accurate to say that the materials of the "Collection" yield a more general picture, while the data included in the "Chronicle" offer more detailed particularities of strike activity in the Russian Empire in the studied period. On the basis of the results, the main hypothesis was confirmed. The main results of the statistical analysis yield the following regarding the strike movement in the Russian Empire before the revolution of 1905:

1. Judging by regional characteristics, Saint Petersburg and Moscow provinces were the leaders of the Russian labour movement. This is due to two main factors: first, the concentration of labour in these two cities, which was very high; and second, the workers in these two cities enjoyed a relatively high rate of literacy, and thus their organizational skills were relatively advanced. Another centre of strike activity in pre-revolutionary Russia successfully competing with other leaders was Left-Bank Ukraine.
2. Strike activity in the metal and textile industries developed along different patterns due to the particular characteristics of the industrial process and labours itself in these two branches of industry. That is to say, these two branches of industry had the highest level of strike activity, although the nature of these labour movements themselves differed, reflecting the influence of such factors as: different worker structure, gender ratios, rates of literacy and experience as well as proximity to villages.
3. Political organizations and parties focused their activities and attention mainly on workers in the metal industry, as the workers in this industry enjoyed relatively high rates of literacy and were able to organize relatively effectively. The most educated and skilled workers in textile industry also were exposed to political propaganda. The least responsive groups of workers to political agitation were those in the mining industry. This was due to the particularity of labour production there, and the low rate of worker literacy.
4. Strikes in pre-revolutionary Russia were economically rather than politically based. While cases in which workers fought for specific freedoms began at this time to occur more often, discontent as well as striker demands still centred on economic matters. Thus, political agitation and propaganda played a significant, though not leading role in the course of the labour movement in Russia before the First Revolution.



As to our hypotheses, according to the results obtained by means of our analysis using econometrics and descriptive statistics, institutional theory as well as business-cycle theory was confirmed for the labour movement in the Russian Empire from 1895 to 1905. The economic-hardship theory, however, was confirmed only for the metalworkers in the Central Industrial Region and Petersburg. It seems that the Russian strike movement had a different pattern of development and a different structure from that which developed in the West. This distinction can be encapsulated by noting Tilly and Edward Shorter's remark on strikes in France: "at all periods in the course of industrialization the worker movement has been political, organizing for the explicit sake of obtaining advantages for the working classes through access to policy."<sup>220</sup> Such a statement is utterly inapplicable to labour conflicts in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Our field of research interest is not the First Russian Revolution itself, but the decade that preceded it. The Revolution was multi-determined, and has been treated by many authors in Russia and abroad. For instance, one of the defined triggers was Bloody Sunday. For the purpose of our research, it is essential to stress that the organized nature of the workers' struggle, as it was revealed during the course of the Revolution in 1905, had been shaped during labour movement. The roots of solidarity, the ability to organize in an active struggle against capital owners and to create a sense of consciousness as a class can be discovered in the decade that preceded the First Russian Revolution. It was during this decade that the political leagues, unions and labour organizations were formed. In fact, within this decade, workers began to claim their rights and to create their own approach toward improving financial security, labour conditions and everyday life. Precisely here we did locate the significance of the strike movement and labour conflicts one decade before the First Russian Revolution. Reviewing, then, what the current research has to

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<sup>220</sup> Edward Shorter, Charles Tilly, *Strikes in France 1830-1968*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 46.

offer on perceptions of the Revolution itself, it is possible to state the following: it appears that the First Russian Revolution was not wholly spontaneous; was not a creature of the explosion of workers' discontent; and definitely was not the only artfully played scenario arranged by the Bolshevik party. Rather, revolution resulted from a deep, long and painful maturation of workers' mentality.

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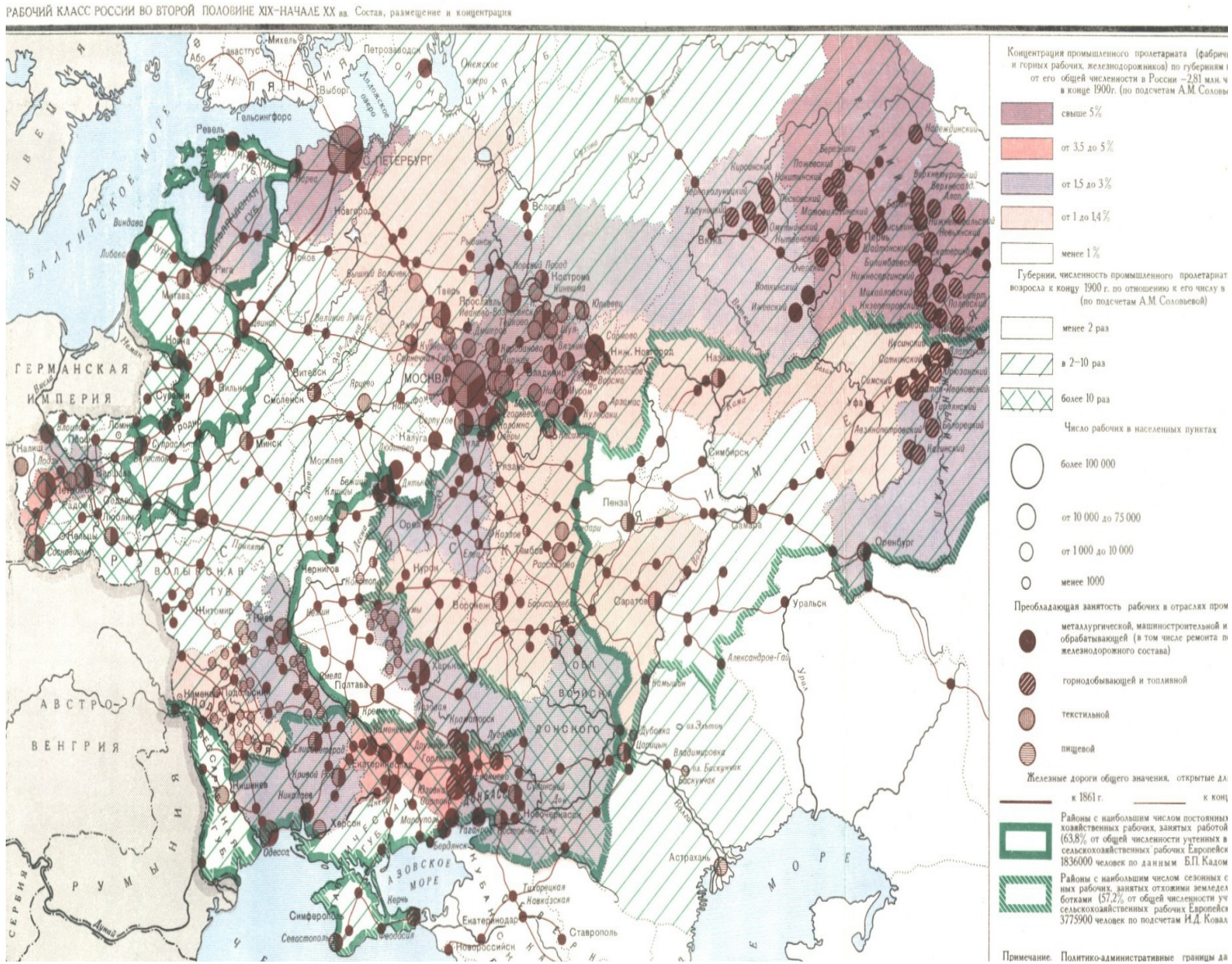


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## Appendix

Map 1. Working class of Russia in the end of the 19 – the beginning of the 20 century.

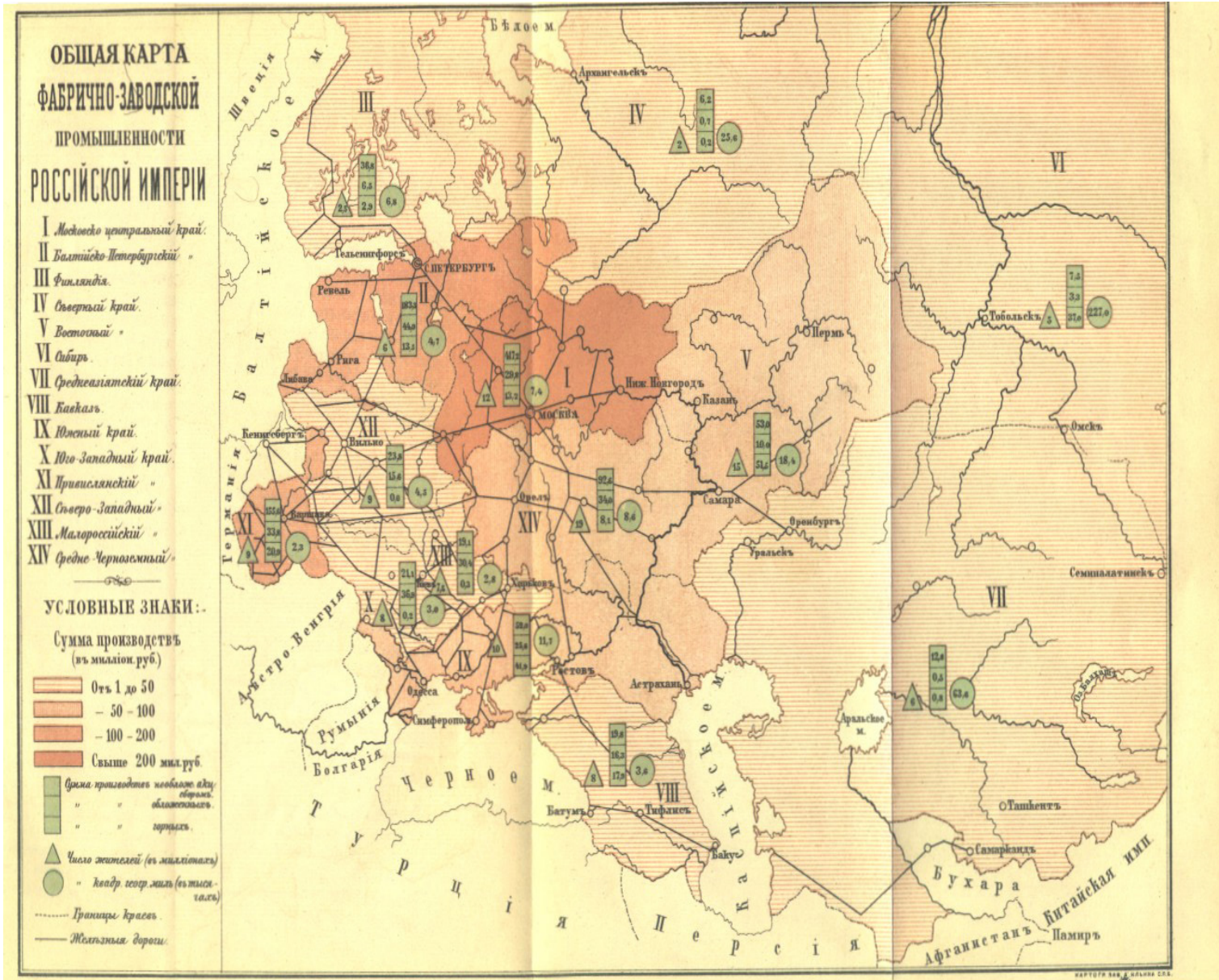
[Source: Rabochii klass Rossii ot zarojdeniya do nachala HH veka. M., 1983]





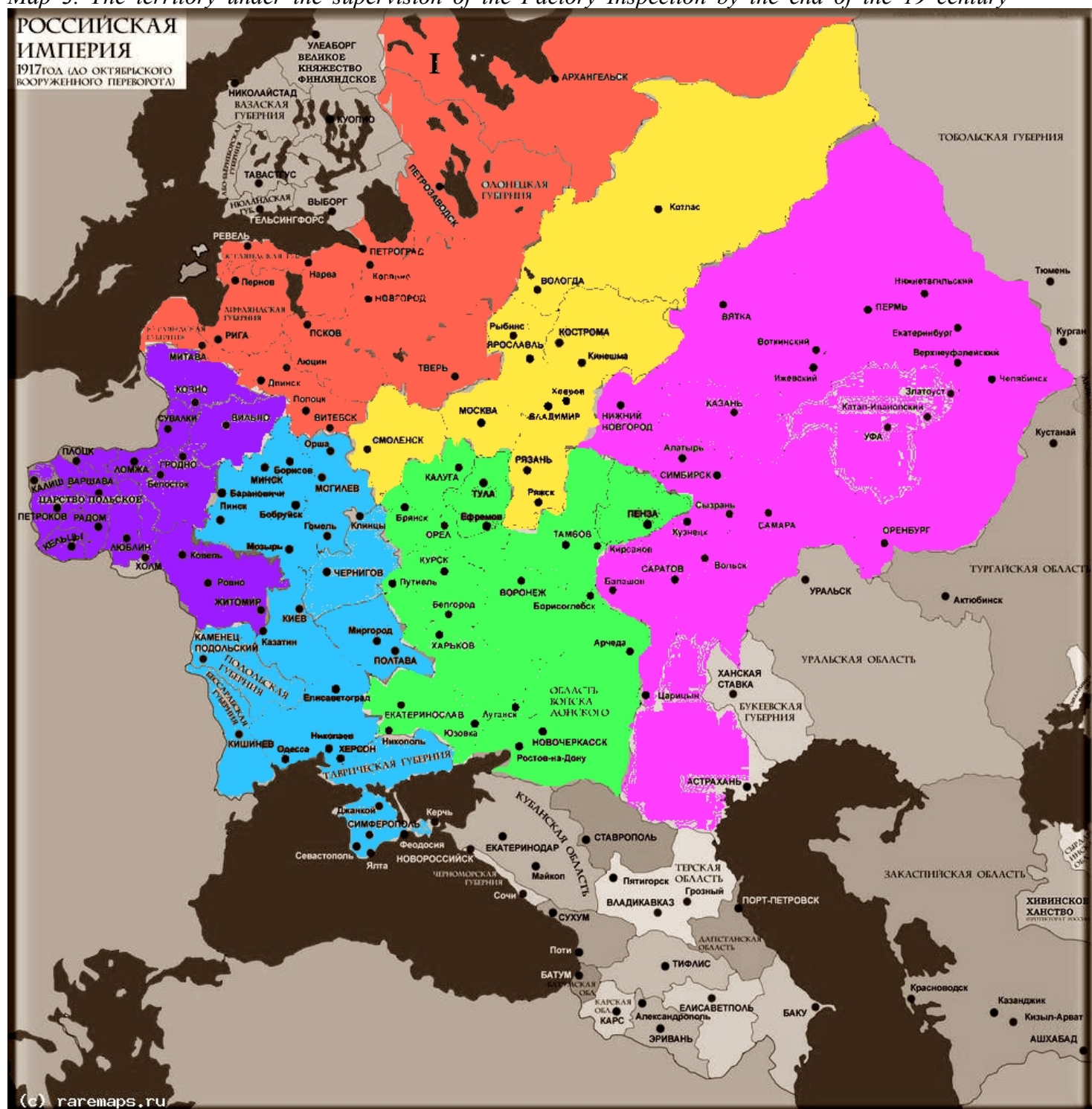
Map 2. General Map of Industry in Imperial Russia (1893).

[Source: Fabrichno-zavodskaya promyshlennost' i trgovlya Rossii. Spb., 1893. (to the international exhibition in Chicago due to the 400 years from the discovery of the New World]





Map 3. The territory under the supervision of the Factory Inspection by the end of the 19 century



Map 4. Districts in Russian Empire by 1913.

арта военных округов Российской Империи. 1913 г.  
lap of Military districts of Russian Empire. 1913.



le 1. Districts in Russian Empire in the beginning of the 20th Century.

<b>By 1892 there were 13 Military Districts in the Russian Empire, and one region with the status of a military district:</b>
<b>1. Petersburg Military District</b> (Петербургский военный округ) – Saint Petersburg, Olonets, Arkhangelsk, Novgorod, Pskov, Estonia and four uyezds of the Livonia gubernya (Pernov, Fellinskiy, Valkskiy and Verrosskiy)
<b>2. Vilno Military District</b> (Вильенский военный округ) - Vilno, Grodno, Kovno, Kurland, Livonia (without above mentioned four uyezds), Vitebsk, Mogilev, Minsk and Suwałki(without the Shchuchinsk uyezd)
<b>3. Warsaw Military District</b> (Варшавский военный округ) - Congress Poland without the part of Suwałki in Vilno Military District
<b>4. Kiev Military District</b> (Киевский военный округ) - Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Kursk
<b>5. Odessa Military District</b> (Одесский военный округ) – Bessarabia, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida
<b>6. Moscow Military District</b> (Московский военный округ) - Moscow, Smolensk, Tver, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Vologda, Vladimir, Nizhniy-Novgorod, Kaluga, Tula, Ryazan,Orel, Tambov, Voronezh
<b>7. Kazan Military District</b> (Казанский военный округ) - Kazan, Vyatka, Perm, Ufa, Simbirsk, Samara, Penza, Saratov, Astrakhan (with the Astrakhan, Ural and Orenburg Cossack host troops)
<b>8. Caucasus Military District</b> (Кавказский военный округ) - Stavropol gubernya with the entire Caucasus and Transcaucasia (including the Kuban and Terek Cossack host troops)

<p><b>9. Turkestan Military District</b> (Туркестáнский воéнный óкруг) - the region (область): Syrdar (with the Amu Dar'ya subdivision), Samarkand and Fergana</p>
<p><b>10. Omsk Military District</b> (О́мский воéнный óкруг) - Tobolsk and Tomsk guberniyas, the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and Semirechye regions (with the local Cossack troops).</p>
<p><b>11. Irkutsk Military District</b> (Иркúтский воéнный óкруг) - Irkutsk and Yeniseysk Governorates and the Yakutsk region (with the local Cossack troops).</p>
<p><b>12. Amur Military District</b> (Аму́рский воéнный óкруг) – regions of Transbaikál, Amur (with the local Cossack troops), Pacific coast region and the Sakhalin island</p>
<p><b>13. Don Host Oblast.</b> In the Donskoy military district the right and responsibility of the Commander of forces and Governor-Generalship were entrusted to the appointed ataman; control of the military district consisted of Don Cossack host staff and administration.</p>